

**INSIDE: Back to campus in an age of uncertainty**

# Maclean's

SEPTEMBER 17, 1984

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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**SPECIAL REPORT**

## THE MULRONEY ERA





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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

# Maclean's

DECEMBER 17, 1984 VOL. 97 NO. 50

## COVER

### The Mulroney Era

With a single-mindedness not seen since 1968, Canada's new prime minister ended nearly 21 years of Liberal rule last week. Brian Mulroney, Canada's 16th Prime Minister, commanded a massive majority in all parts of the country. Now his awesome challenge is to ensure that his Conservative party honors its many commitments to the electorate.

—Page 39

(COVER PHOTO BY MARK WOODWARD/GETTY)



### The age of uncertainty

When 400,000 university students return to campus this week, they will face a crash course in overcrowded classrooms and stiff curricula.

—Page 54



### Mondale's victory blueprint

As the U.S. presidential campaign officially began, Democrat Walter Mondale focused his attacks on Ronald Reagan's tax policies and foreign policy failures.

—Page 38



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### The trial of a spaceship

The space shuttle Discovery's non-flawless maiden flight will likely to leave government from the military to develop another system for satellite launches.

—Page 62



### The joys of body building

New York model Glynis Portugal has gone from sculpting to modeling herself, developing a symmetry that may win her the Miss Olympia title in Montreal this fall.

—Page 68



## Women's issues

I was totally disgusted by the TV debate on women's issues ("Why should we trust you now?" Canada, Aug. 22). Women may represent 51 per cent of the voting population, but the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NCSW) is not the voice of all women. Therefore, what they promote as women's issues are merely NCSW issues. Our leadership candidates should have been aware that this tiny group does not determine the evidence it swears to expect. Fortunately, there are women who believe that responsibility goes hand in hand with one's rights. For example, we have a choice to be or not to be a parent if we choose the former, we should be allowed to provide the necessary care. When child care becomes the responsibility of business, industry and the government, then it is feasible to anticipate that the state will choose when and who will be parents. It is unreasonable to demand that there be no parents on such a universal scale. The reason facing this country are not female or male; they are economics, justice and defence. Those of us who fit into society better on our right and paying taxes had better band together and be heard about the day before we have no choice. I, for one, do not wish to give up my superiority to become equal...**ANITA L. BLACK**  
Mississauga, Ont.

## Facing up to the challenge

I wish to commend Dan Cohen's important Aug. 18 column, "How Canadians live at the gods'." Dan said she was nervous because all three party leaders



Parade Key Speeches: a choice

had demonstrated an out-of-date approach to the fundamental economic problems that Canada will face in the decades to come. The world does not stand still, and the economic solutions that were viable in the 1960s will not prove viable in the new technological world that we have already entered. If we are concerned with the effect of the economy on the lives of people, then we must expect our political leaders to acquire the necessary knowledge and display much-needed sensitivity to tackle new problems in a new way. I applaud Cohen for raising the most basic issue of our economic future and challenging our political leaders to respond in kind.  
—NIGEL S. FRANK  
Toronto, Ont.

## Nothing to gain

"The debtors' defenders" (Business, Aug. 27) ignored the critical issue of supporting all of the debt. Twenty cents out of every federal tax dollar goes now to pay for Canada's debt, and the percentage is increasing alarmingly fast. It is not too difficult to envisage a time in which most of the tax revenue is used to support the debt. What will then be used to pay for all the services more debt? Is that the legacy Canadians wish to leave their children? Since Canadians are already among the most heavily taxed people in the world, the only solution is to get off the spending binge that we are presently on. Anytime, politicians, economists or others, who suggest increasing the debt must be considered irresponsible and selfish. Only our children have anything to gain by reducing the debt.  
—BOB WOODEN  
Bloomfield, Que.

## REFLECTED

REFLECTED career soldier Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov, 66, as chief of the Soviet Armed Forces General Staff, leading to speculation among Western analysts that there is a Kremlin race over the vast influence the military has acquired. There was also speculation last week that Ogarkov, a follower of the late Soviet leader Yuri Andropov, had taken personal advantage of his heightened prestige, after he held a televised press conference about the Korean airliner disaster that resulted in the loss of 269 lives when a Soviet jet shot down flight 007 on Sept. 1, 1983.

RELEASING former prime minister and current leader of the United Front National Council party in Zimbabwe Bishop Abel Muzorewa, 59, after 30 months imprisonment by the government of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe. Muzorewa, bishop of the Zimbabwe branch of the United Methodist Church, was accused of subversive activities but was never formally charged.

DEED author Viola Pratt, 90, a founding member and editor of *World Friends*, a children's magazine published for the United Church of Canada in Toronto. Pratt, who was the widow of the late Canadian poet Edwin John (E.J.) Pratt, wrote three books: *One Family* (1957), *Friendship Devotion* (1966) and a collection of articles from *World Friends*, *Journalism with the Year* (1984).

DEED Broadway composer Arthur Schwartz, 83, whose songs include *Dancing in the Streets*, *I Guess It's Time to Change My Plan*, *Something to Watch You By*, *Along Together*, after a stroke, at his home in Encinitas, Pa. Schwartz collaborated with several lyricists, most notably Howard Dietz, with whom he wrote *That's Entertainment* and the 1981 musical *The Band Wagon*. His hit movies included *The Time*, *The Place* and *The Girl, the Year and the Cover Girl*.

DEED Indonesian statesman Adam Malik, 67, who was president of the United Nations General Assembly in 1971, of cancer of the liver, at his home in Bandung. Malik was Indonesian foreign minister from 1965 to 1977 and vice-president from 1978 until March 3, 1983.

DEED Texas-born country music pioneer Ernest Tubb, 70, whose signature hit "I'm Walking the Floor Over You" was released in 1941, of emphysema, after two years of ill health, in a Nashville hospital. Tubb recorded more than 350 songs and used his influence to establish other artists including Loretta Lynn and Hank Snow.

## Making the punishment fit

I appreciated Allan Fetheringham's Aug. 20 column, "Nixon's footprints in history." In the past weeks we have been exposed to articles on the 10th anniversary of Watergate. Many of them have attempted to glorify his actions. We are to believe that he is rehabilitated and we should all on his way down again. As Fetheringham points out, nothing is further from the truth. I have always deplored the relative ease by which all the political criminals are allowed to pay for their crimes. I believe all people should refuse to purchase any book about Watergate authored by the actors in the crime. Although Watergate was an American experience, the fact that it was a direct attempt to subvert the democratic process is sufficient to concern us all. For someone in benefit from his crime seems irrational, Fetheringham's column provides a useful manual to the Nixon whitewash articles that have become too common.  
—JOHN G. HUTTON  
Edmonton

For the first time in my adult life, I feel compelled to write to a magazine. Allan Fetheringham's Aug. 20 column is the most brilliant, accurate analysis of Richard Nixon that I have ever had the good fortune to read. As an inveterate American political watcher, I have realized what an incredible danger Nixon was to the democratic process since the 1950s. His California smear campaign against his rival for the Senate, Republican representative, senator (Eugene McCarthy) should have indicated to the U.S. electorate what a monster it had unleashed. But except for his brief nojourn after being defeated for governor of California, he was re-elected to public office. Fetheringham's column should be required in all North American history texts in the public school system. It just might prevent another Watergate.  
—BOB CHARRA  
Port Landau, B.C.

Re Allan Fetheringham's Aug. 20 column: Richard Nixon has successfully rehabilitated himself, and today, I believe, most people are beginning to agree with Nixon that Watergate was no more than a two-bit burglary that was expanded into a national horror story by a malicious set of journalists and political enemies of Nixon. Now, some 10 years later, all of this pitiful ritual and hatred of Nixon is for naught as the ex-president demonstrates by words and interviews that he has a remarkable cool, keenly attuned to international politics. In so doing he proves that he was far more than a crook, which Fetheringham seems intent on remembering him as.  
—STEVEN GREEN  
Toronto

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building boom that followed China's decision to encourage foreign investment in Shenzhen. Next, they established hotels, restaurants and joint-venture factories with Hong Kong businessmen as partners to make jade trinkets, furniture, electronic watches, plastic and decorative products.

Today, those Chinese entrepreneurs have household incomes that can run as high as \$12,000 annually—more than 10 times the national average. The new houses, which cost an average of \$22,000 each, were typically paid off in three or four years. However, Deng Xiaobao admits he cannot be sure that the Chinese government will allow the capitalist-style aggrandizement to continue. Said Deng: "We have asked the state leaders if the new system will last, and they



*She offers condominiums from houses on offer to apartment investors at \$100.00*

have told us that the reforms will only go forward, not backward." But there are rumors that several of the numerous fishermen manage to get some of their money on deposit in Hong Kong banks as a hedge against the uncertain future. Ironically, while Hong Kong people see their own future as fraught with instability, the colony's tradition of British law and established business order is appealing to emerging Chinese capitalists who have seen the signs and signs of Chinese politics steadily outdo yesterday's heroes when a new order comes onto the scene.

Shenzhen used to be a sleepy town of farmers, rice paddies and water buffalo. For foreign travellers arriving in China before the era of direct air links to Peking, Shenzhen's railroad customs house on the other side of the bridge from Hong Kong's Lo Wu provided a first glimpse of the mysterious People's Republic. As recently as the late 1980s, that glimpse was likely to include

red billboards with the revolutionary sayings of Chairman Mao and a feeling that the haste and haste of Hong Kong had been permanently left behind for the silent university of China. Today, however, Mao's sayings have been replaced by slogans like, "There's money," as well as billboards advertising Coca-Cola, Kodak, Sony, Hitachi and a host of other capitalist brand names. Fifty-story skyscrapers are under construction where the paddy fields stood so recently, and the latest Japanese automobiles are common.

So far, \$22 billion in foreign investment has been attracted to establish Shenzhen factories making everything from portable telephones to Cabbage Patch dolls. Because labor is exceedingly cheap, thread Hong Kong entrepreneurs

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## CONCLUSION

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Future Manuscript: Free  
Page 100-101, 2010

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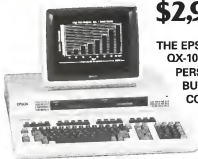
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<sup>a</sup> *Staphylococcus* is represented with a red triangle and all the other

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<sup>a</sup> Figure is a projected schedule of the First Conference.

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The Chinese government, meanwhile, is underwriting major projects in Shenzhen which include modern highways, an airport, seaport, heliport and a satellite earth station. A nuclear power plant is now under construction, and it may supply Hong Kong with much of its future energy needs. So far, about 100 factories and office buildings have been erected to house the manufacturing operations of foreign and joint-venture businesses. Good restaurants and shopping malls line the main streets, while condominiums, lawn houses complete with ocean view, swimming pool and tennis courts are now offered to expatriate factory managers and investors at \$100,000 and up.

Although most foreigners are surprised at how fast Shenzhen has developed into a reasonable place to do business, headaches born of the Chinese political and economic systems still abound. It may be easier to fire workers at Shenzhen factories than elsewhere in China, but managers must still be able to prove to the appropriate Chinese committee that they have "good cause." The foreign business community also complains that it is still denied access to the domestic Chinese market and is forced to export most of what is produced in Shenzhen.

Still, before the end of the year, Chinese authorities plan to go a step further in the development of Shenzhen by enclosing the customs barriers island, making Shenzhen a completely duty-free zone as is Hong Kong. China watchers are divided about how to interpret that move. Some argue that it will further draw Hong Kong into an inseparable web with China and ease the transition to Chinese sovereignty in 1997. Others say it is a means of keeping the rest of the mainland insulated from the capitalistic influences of both Hong Kong and Shenzhen, much as 19th-century Chinese emperors did by walling off foreigners to isolated enclaves.

For his part, Shenzhen city spokesman Lu was understandably optimistic. Said Lu: "China is like a house, Shenzhen is the window. The window has different panes of glass, technology, knowledge, administration and other things we need to learn from the outside world. Our policy is to let capitalists come in the window to serve socialism." Whether the delicate relationship between the window and the house can be kept in balance remains to be seen. But the fact that China's present leadership has decided to apply the Shenzhen system to so many more cities in China underscores their confidence in the balancing act.

—DANIEL BURSTEIN

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## Oil and troubled waters

By Ann Widmaier

More than six years after the largest and most costly oil tanker spill in history, the battle over the bill for the damage it caused is now beginning. When the supertanker *Amoco Cadiz* broke in two on rocks near

Brittany's western shore on March 16, 1978, an 86-mile-long oil slick seeped into 131 miles of coastline, killed 20,000 shorebirds and destroyed 225,000 tons of wildlife. Then, last spring, after a two-year trial, a U.S. court found *Standard Oil* (Indiana), better known as Amoco, and two of its subsidiaries,

Amoco Transport and Amoco International Oil Co., owner and operator respectively of the vessel, negligent in allowing the unsoundly ship to sail. Now more than 300 claimants ranging from the French government to Breton seaweed harvesters are competing for compensation. Court proceedings to determine the damages will begin Sept. 15. At stake is \$1 billion in combined claims—a figure the company has described as "wildly exaggerated."

Lawyers from both sides admit that Amoco will certainly face the largest-ever court-awarded damages for an oil tanker spill. Most of the parties involved in oil-spill disputes settle out of court, but lawyers are arguing the *Cadiz* case is a U.S. federal district court in Chicago, where Amoco's headquarters are located. In the liability phase of the trial, which concluded last April, Judge Frank McGarr overruled the company's argument based on two international treaties that limit liability of shipowners and all companies to roughly \$90 million for any one spill. Instead, McGarr ruled that Amoco's recklessness in its maintenance of the ship's steering gear and its towing of crew made it liable for much greater damages under U.S. negligence law. Even though the *Cadiz* carried insurance for only \$60 million, the company, with assets of \$55.9 billion, may not suffer greatly from the suit. Said Frank Cierro, the company's senior counsel: "We intend to collect all of it from the shipbuilder." However, the Spanish government-owned builders, Astilleros Españoles S.A. (which also built Christopher Columbus's ships the *Pinta*, *Niña*, and *Santa María*), will fight Amoco's claim.

Legal arguments over which claims are valid will be murky and could prolong the second phase of the trial another two years. Cierro believes that overlapping suits have inflated the bill and that the awards will not exceed \$100 million. Said Cierro: "The French government and the companies [Breton municipalities] are apparently suing for the same thing."

The French government must also be prepared to defend its bill for the clean-up operation. In drastic efforts to contain the damage, six government agencies issued contradictory orders and, as a result, heavy pumping equipment damaged the fragile marshlands. As well, environmental lawyers anticipated that both the government and the municipalities will try to claim for ecological and other intangible damages, for which there are few precedents in U.S. law. The court will have to place a value on rarely assessed losses ranging from the destruction of ploverland—which has no commercial value, although its creatures including whistles feed on it—to the diminished attractive-

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ness of the ill-fated beaches for tourists. Said Roger Downer, head of research at the Washington-based Environmental Law Institute: "The general loss will be to replacement cost—it could be six cents for some disgusting little worm."

The calculations are further complicated by the fact that Brittany's coast has not yet returned to normal. According to Senator Alphonse Arsenault, mayor of the town of Port-au-Prince, where the spill did the most damage, Bretons are complaining about short supplies of fish. Said Arsenault: "It will be 10 years before adult sole, herring, cod and lobster will return." Added Barry Kishman, a New York City lawyer for 30 Breton seamen represented at the trial: "Certain species in the food chain have never regenerated." Oyster cultivation are harvesting again, but hydrocarbon pollution in Breton waters has continued to prevent the resumption of many of the oyster beds. And, although the Atlantic surf has soiled the beaches of Brittany's beaches, the light crude oil has seeped into the sandy bed.

Independent studies that will likely be evidence at the trial have estimated the real cost of the spill at less than \$500 million. Last summer the U.S. government's National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration released a report which concluded that the total cost would be only \$484 million. In that figure the researchers included \$33 million for losses to the commercial fisheries, including damage to boats and the loss of harvest, as much as \$88 million for damage to the tourist industry, and \$58 million for the cleanup by the French government. Engineer Norman Meade, one of the authors of the report:

"We took a conservative estimate. But the French says that I am aware of were not backed up by any hard analysis."

Indeed, all the parties are now revising their estimates. In the original suit the French government claimed \$100 million, the Breton communities \$300 million and parties from ferry operators to hotel owners each sought \$300,000. Arsenault told Meade that the municipalities' updated claim, expected this month, will be more modest. Said Arsenault: "There are things that cannot be proven and were not right. This time the bill will be much more correct."

Regardless of the trial's outcome—which American lawyers have already announced they will appeal—the spill victims are now increasingly confident about their ability to collect after a twelve-month delay. Last May the International Maritime Organization raised the liability limit on its oil-pollution treaties to \$150 million from \$50 million in response to the enormity of the Brittany accident. And the Amoco Cadiz case served as a reminder that in oil spills, liability could be unlimited. ☐

## FOLLOW-UP

# A labor of lost love



Cohen with his documents: a lifelong crusade to collect his alimony

By Ann Finlayson

When the Supreme Court of Ontario ordered Louis Cohen's wife, Ruth, to pay him \$335 a month in 1970, the disaffected Polish-born tailor became the first man in Canada to win alimony. But after 14 years of legal warfare, 70-year-old Cohen still has not received a single payment. Then, last month he applied for a judgment in an Ontario provincial court that would, at last, secure what he now fully maintains is his due. But his obduracy through the payless system may still continue. Cohen has devoted his life to a single-minded crusade, in and out of the courts, to collect the money and to correct what he alleges is a complex series of wrongs that lawyers and the courts have inflicted on him ever since his wife—from whom he is still not divorced—walked out of their Windsor, Ont., apartment in 1952.

Cohen, who never learned to write and who reads with difficulty, now lives in a shabby, one-room Toronto apartment, pouring dozens of carbonized leaves full of court transcripts and other legal documents, many of them signed by people who died years ago. His \$40 monthly income from his out-of-area pension covers his telephone rent, food and telephone. But his legal problems, Cohen says, have left him \$60,000 in debt. He says he wants to repay the money, borrowed over 30 years from banks, friends and relatives. And, he added, he will be able to begin to do so when he collects the overdue alimony, an amount he estimates to be at least \$68,000. But Cohen

also wants the courts to return to him a 25-unit Windsor apartment building that he signed over to his wife, for \$1, in 1948 and that he still owns in his

In 1947 Cohen, who followed an older brother from Poland to Canada in 1934 and worked his way to relative affluence by making rickshaws at night and selling them by day, saved both the building and a successful clothing business. This year, at a family gathering in Toronto, he met Ruth Edler. She was 28, he was 41. They married nine months later. Cohen dates his troubles to the day he met the woman he refers to as his "person," but his legal problems began when he signed over the building. He says his motive was to protect himself against possible business setbacks. But Ruth Cohen has testified that the transfer was part of a marriage contract.

The marriage effectively ended when Ruth Cohen, the Cohen's two young daughters and Ruth's parents, who also lived in the apartment building, moved out on Good Friday, 1952. Then, his wife evicted him from his shop, which was in the same building. Cohen, who has testified that his family's departure affected his nerves so badly that he has been unable to work ever since, immediately began to picket the building and to launch his campaign to get it back. He has done little else since then, even though his wife sold the building 16 years ago for \$26,000.

A major difficulty for Cohen now is the 1952 court-settlement document. It declared that Ruth Cohen would retain ownership of the disputed property until the matter would go as far as Ruth

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Cohen claims that he never saw the minutes of settlement, did not know what they were and did not sign them. In an attempt to prove his point, he commissioned a handwriting analyst who reported that Cohen's signature had been forged. But Cohen contends that he has been unable to find a lawyer who will pursue his complaint to the courts. Ruth Cohen, who has received more than 20 lawyers since 1958: "They tell me that I am right. They take my money. And then they refuse to act." His law complaints to the Law Society of Upper Canada.

Cohen believed that he had won at least a minor battle when the Ontario Supreme Court awarded him alimony in 1970. Although Ruth Cohen appealed the judgment and the court reduced the award to \$125 a month, the judgment itself still stands. Still, Cohen has been soiled in his attempts to collect the money. In 1979 he initiated contempt proceedings in Ontario provincial courts, and Justice Justice Janet Boland ruled in his favor. Her ruling stated, in part: "Louis Cohen has been shamefully treated by his wife. She has wilfully disobeyed the order of Mr. Justice John Oiler dated April 5, 1976, wherein he ordered that Ruth Cohen pay her husband \$300 a month. To date she has not paid him a cent." The court ordered Ruth Cohen to pay \$5,000 toward the balance owing and to discharge the entire debt by Feb. 15, 1979.

Four months later, Ruth Cohen successfully appealed that decision to the Supreme Court of Canada, which ruled that Justice Boland did not have jurisdiction over the matter. Louis Cohen was back where he started. He then obtained a warrant of commitment in an Ontario provincial court in Toronto, but the Windsor police referred to a letter to Cohen's lawyer that "all attempts to execute the warrant at the Windsor address provided by the court and Mr. Cohen have resulted in negative results." Then, in 1980, Cohen discovered that his wife had moved to Florida. Eventually, with the help of a private investigator, he located her in Lake Park, Fla. She declines to be interviewed, and the Florida authorities said that the Canadian warrant was not valid in the state.

Cohen now is petitioning an Ontario provincial court in Toronto to annul the original court order so that it will be void in Florida, where a new at-resignation agreement between Ontario and the U.S. state. And he has persuaded another law firm, in Palm Beach, to represent him: "I lost my children, I lost my building, I lost my business," said Cohen. "I lost my future." The only thing he has not lost is his hope.

With Andy Woods

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## Picking up the Brubeck beat

**A**fter the Second World War jazz was struggling for survival as a popular art form. The big band era was over, and the eccentricities of bebop had failed to gain widespread appeal. But in California several young musicians were experimenting with new sounds. Paramount among them was pianist Dave Brubeck, a well-respected but stubborn young man who was experimenting: small jazz groups and playing concerts on college campuses. By the early 1950s his quartet, featuring alto saxophonist Paul Desmond, had taken hold of a new generation. Their put Brubeck on radio, and Columbia released the first of a long series of best-selling titles, *Jazz Goes to College*. Now, at 63, the timeless jazz giant is still maintaining a hectic pace. In a single week in early August he performed two concerts, cut a new album, played at a festival in Cleveland, Calif., and wrote a score for a feature film. Still Brubeck "I know enough to keep me busy for a lifetime. Retirement is a dirty word."

Brubeck has been busy since he began writing jazz phrases into Brubeck symphonies at the age of 11 on his mother's piano at the family's California cattle ranch. After *Jazz Goes to College's* success, he toured widely—in North America, Europe, Asia and Africa—and in 1961 his quartet gave just an informal casual session when the exotic rhythms of Desmond's composition *Take Five* became the first, and so far the only, jazz single to sell more than a million copies. But he was also becoming more involved in the purely classical forms that he had studied with the French modernist composer and teacher Darius Milhaud in the 1940s. By the middle 1960s Brubeck was composing *Harmonies* series, and in 1967 his quartet disbanded. A few by then, Brubeck converted to Roman Catholicism in 1962 and added "sacred jazz masses" to the wellings of his imagination.

But he has not abandoned jazz and, indeed, has kept up to date with developments in rock as well. He performs in concert with his married son, Chris, Davey and Darius, and their two Grandchildren of Brubeck albums appeared in 1974. Brubeck views the family affair as a way of making a new wave of players, just or not, into spokes of the old in the acknowledgment that jazz is an endless progression of rebirth. As Brubeck put it, "The most international music is jazz. I do not believe we will ever run out of places to play." ♦

## COLUMN

# Some advice for back-benchers

By Charles Gordon

**I**t's what you always wanted, isn't it? Congratulations. Your own seat in the House of Commons. Sure, it's a back bench—that's the Speaker's chair way over there, and if you sit right tall and look down and a bit to the left, you can just see the back of Brian's head. You are here, that's what counts. And the sky's the limit.

Just a couple of words of advice. Maybe the leader'll tell you about being a government back-bencher in a huge way. It's a little slow, actually. There are a lot of new faces beside yours, and they all want to be in the exhibit too. You will all just have to wait. Meanwhile, nobody will be paying much attention to you. If you're not in the exhibit, you're a nobody, as somebody once said (please forget his name).

While you sit back there, writing for someone to tell you when to applaud, study this little bit of some of the names, people and places you should know about in Ottawa.

**Deficit.** Remember the deficit? It was the thing you were against during the campaign. Now that you're in power it doesn't matter so much, and you can't do much about it anyway.

**Black Rod.** Gentlemen. Enter of the Black Rod carries the name around on ceremonial occasions in Parliament. Means it's a very nice job but a big risk. It symbolizes a big stick. Sometimes you follow Black Rod from one room to another. But watch your step. Black Rod is one of those Liberal appointments. He might lead you across Wellington Street against the light.

**Wellington Street.** One of Ottawa's main thoroughfares, it runs by Parliament Hill. Avenue Wellington Street are the American Embassy and the National Press Building. Don't cross Wellington Street, even with the light.

**Free.** There are now more members in Parliament Hill than there are Liberals, and almost as many as there are of you. Remember how the press helped you to get elected? Forget that now. One of the results: Guess it was that the press elected itself the official Opposition. But reporters can't harm you, so long as they don't know who you are.

**Bank rate.** Announced every Thursday at 2 p.m., the bank rate is what the banks use as an anchor to hike prices in the mortgage. It is set by the Bank of Canada and is not to be confused with the interest rate, which is set by Ronald Reagan.

**Employment.** This is what you need to call unemployment when your party was in opposition. You do not talk about the unemployment situation now. It is the employment situation.

**Applause.** Something people make speeches about on the Prime Minister's report. Ignore the speeches. From time to time Opposition members will make speeches condemning the weather. When they do that, agriculture is what they are talking about. **Questions.** The Liberals and the Conservatives are the official Opposition. The NDP is a party in the week. At least you may envy members of the opposition because they get to speak more than you do. If you find yourself feeling this way, have a chat with George Measor. **Alvin Hamilton.** To find out how much fat they have been having lately.

**Question Period.** Forty-five minutes of parliamentary time every day in which people other than you get to sit

**"If you're not in cabinet you're a nobody," somebody once said; you just sit and wait while nobody pays attention"**

there. Here's your job is to have all the questions and say "Right no" at the answers.

**Ten types.** Remember when Brian agreed with everything those women said on television? Soon they will be coming to remind him. He might establish a task force to look at ways of keeping his promises. This might be your big chance, but if you remember to call women women, not girls.

**Forestry.** A government department having to do with trees, which hasn't been in existence for some time, though trees have. Many years ago half of the department of forestry and rural development because the department of regional economic expansion. Then the department of regional economic expansion became part of another department, the name of which people forget and which your government is going to abolish anyway, if it can remember what it is. However, it is difficult to abolish government departments in Ottawa. They hide out, hiding from glass ceilings and in the end, being press releases until the stationery goes out, which it never does. So, watch out.

for the department of regional economic expansion. It could be hiding behind some trees.

**Public servants.** Also known as civil servants, but not to themselves. They make the government work and they are really frightened of you. There is not much you can do to them, not pay to you. A couple of things you should note about public servants: they are not all card-carrying Gens—in fact, they are not all of them. Many made of say kind and they will be around long after you have gone back to your law firm. So try to get along.

**Defence.** You are in favour of defence. **R&D.** This means research and development. Research and development into what has never been made clear. However, you are for it and when you are talking to a business audience you think it should be doubled.

**Standing Order 21.** A parliamentary rule that allows you to make a five-minute speech before Question Period begins. You may say anything in your tiny little speech, so long as it is about the perils of the opposition, the beauties of your riding or the admirable record of Brian, and the other guy, the back of whose head you can just make out.

**Party whip.** The guy who lets you make the speech. He doesn't really have a whip, but don't let on you know.

**Social policy.** Remember the dimensions of "underclass"? Social policy is where that goes. You are in favour of social policy.

**Cause.** You are in favour of cutting costs. That will not interfere with social policy, which is a sacred trust. The party has guys who are smart about money and can explain this to you.

**Nuclear freeze.** As easy one. Say this: "Of course I'm in favour of a nuclear freeze, but we have to live in the real world."

**Conventions.** Parliament is full of conventions and you should be able to get yourself on one. In convention you can make speeches. None of them will be reported, but it is good practice for Question Period, in case you ever make it to Opposition.

**Parliament Restaurant.** A cheap buffet with a good view of Hill. A fine place to take visiting constituents for lunch. Make a point of introducing them to some of your famous colleagues. Many of them will want to meet Joe Clark.

Charles Gordon is a columnist for the Ottawa Citizen.

# The Mulroney Era

By Robert Miller

"This," as Sir Wilfrid Laurier declared in 1866 and as Prime Minister-elect Brian Mulroney will discover when he attempts to fulfil the overwhelming mandate he has won, "is a difficult country to govern." The very elements that make Canadian life unique and so potentially rewarding—the country's myriad, cultural and linguistic differences, its diverse but often conflicting economic spheres, its cherished traditions of freedom and fairness, and its vastness and the harsh climate—frequently confused and occasionally mislead politicians assigned to manage the nation's affairs. Still, Laurier governed Canada for 15 years (1896-1911), after forging the unitary coalition of largely middle-class Quebec and Ontario voters that kept the federal Liberal party in office for all but 22 years of this century. Now Mulroney, 40, another Quebecer, has forged a unitary coalition under the banner of the Progressive Conservatives, and last week he rode it to the summit of power, smothering the politically bankrupt Liberal party that John Turner inherited from Pierre Trudeau (page 32).

Adopting New long Mulroney and his rejuvenated party remain as top will depend, in large measure, on how effectively he translates the various competing elements within the country and within the 211-strong Tory caucus itself. As he prepares to take office at the head of what will truly be a national government, Mulroney enjoys a number of advantages denied to Turner, in former prime minister Joe Clark, and, since 1975, to Trudeau himself: strong support in every region, a clear mandate to change the way Canada is governed, and the potential goodwill of nearly every province. Mulroney's selection of a cabinet from a largely inexperienced pool of talent will be a crucial first step (page 34). The way he seeks to appoint and make use of disappointed members of the caucus will be almost as vital. And Mulroney's approach to Canada's substantial economic problems, which contributed heavily to the national yearning for change, will be all-important.

But successful former prime ministers, including Laurier and Mackenzie King, retained public confidence and power not only by projecting competence, but also by giving at least the

appearance that they could keep from revealing the various threads that make up the Canadian tapestry. Failures in office—including the haughty John Diefenbaker, who won a 1958 landslide victory comparable to Mulroney's only to be back in opposition five years later, and the often-befuddled Lester Pearson, who in Peter Newman's phrase was "a good man who lived in wicked times"—were either unable or unwilling to satisfy conflicting demands through the compromises that Canada requires. Mulroney's reputation as an adept calculator—based on his career as a labor lawyer and his adroit performance since leaving the leadership of a traditionally fractious party 15 months ago—suggests that his years in power will be busy, rather than few.

**Crisis:** The scope of Mulroney's victory—Conservatives elected 211 Tories, including 58 from Quebec, only 40 Liberals, 30 New Democrats and one independent—invited comparisons with Diefenbaker's 1958 sweep (208 Tories, including 50 from Quebec, 48 Liberals, and eight Co-operative Commonwealth Federation members). But the similarities are largely nominal. Diefenbaker, who had won a minority government the previous year, was campaigning as a Prime Minister asking for a mandate to get on with the job. Mulroney evaded a Prime Minister, Turner, who had just taken office after winning a highly publicized Liberal leadership race. And Diefenbaker's celebrated "breakthrough" as the traditional Liberal fortress of Quebec was almost entirely due to the sheer existence of the Pierre Trudeau leadership, whose Union Nationale machine drew Quebec candidates and votes to the Tories in anticipation of future Pierre from Ontario. Mulroney—perfectly bilingual and a 36-year veteran of "the job" before he became prime minister—has a leadership that is both credible and skilfully presented himself as a Quebecer who would fight as hard as any Liberal, including Trudeau, to protect minority rights everywhere in Canada.

Throughout the campaign, Mulroney evoked Clark's active support, particularly in Western Canada, and he regularly invoked Diefenbaker's memory as the bugging. But, practically, Mulroney in office will use neither of his predecessors as a role model. Both Clark and Diefenbaker were toppled, finally, by actions within the Tory party. Diefen-



baker was ousted after he squandered his vast majority by mismanaging the economy and mistreating the changing nature of an increasingly urban and sophisticated Canadian society. Clark lost the leadership after losing power because he made the grave error of attempting to govern, during his six-month minority interregnum in the Trudeau government, as though he enjoyed a majority.

Conservatives historically prefer majority governments; in the 39 general elections since Confederation, the country has elected 23 majorities and only 18 minorities, many of which were relatively short-lived. By giving no large a majority to Mulroney this time, the voters in effect were telling him, as Tory

politician Allan Goegg put it in an election night, that they trusted him to get on with the job of solving "problems the public sees as currently solvable."

Should his wish compete with his sustained desire to partition the Tories in the "extreme centre" of the political spectrum—as an area long occupied with electoral success by Ontario's provincial Tory party—Mulroney made it as easy as possible for Canadians to support him. For most of his history, the federal Tory party has been the natural political home of the privileged and the powerful, unthinkably right-wing. But the Mulroney majority does not reflect a fundamental shift to the right by Canadians. Instead, it is the tradition of Laurier's Liberal alliance, except that

its color is blue, not red.

For his part, John Turner, whose ill-starred campaign never recovered from his early blunders, was left with his head high but with his heart among the ruins of the once-nearly Liberal party, which now holds power nowhere in the country. Turner's acquiescence as Trudeau's putative demands and his paid mid-campaign decision to place his political future in the hands of Senator Keith Elroy and other advisors from the Trudeau era cost him the chance to represent himself as an independent leader and a potential agent of change. Turner improved as a campaigner in the late stages of the election, but by then it was far too late. He had begun with a disengaged, underdoged and large-

ly apolitical party and he led it to the brink of oblivion.

Turner, who at least achieved the personal satisfaction of defying media and poll predictions by winning his seat in Vancouver Quadra, merely says that he wants to rebuild the Liberals. But whether the run-and-run party machinery can provide a framework for his dream is far from certain. Trudeau's ill-forgotten boredom with the mechanics of party—he once declared that "an evening party ought to have both bladders and bananas!"—and his "aporia" was in doing so, he inevitably tossed his successor may have irreparably damaged the Liberals.

The fall from grace hardly seems credible. But having installed most of the great social programs—medicare, the Canada Pension Plan, unemployment insurance—and secured French language rights throughout the federal system, as well as having protected the country's constitution from Brexits, the Liberals may have fulfilled their destiny. In any event, the Canadian people, confident that the rights they now enjoy are secure, appear ready for management and efficiency, rather than innovation. Mulroney's challenge will be to satisfy that desire.

Party affiliation aside, there are striking similarities between Laurier and Mulroney. Like Laurier, Mulroney is a bilingual Quebec lawyer who became party leader in his mid-40s. Like Laurier in 1896, Mulroney achieved power in part because the country was weary of a long-tenured government. And, most remarkably, like Laurier, Mulroney made his most telling impact in opposition by taking a politically courageous stand on the issue of French language rights in Montreal. In 1980, after the Manitoba government passed an unconstitutional but highly popular law thinning French and Roman Catholic schools in the province, the then-Prime Minister, the John A. Macbratland, decided to allow the Manitoba legislation to stand, but to provide federal funding for French schools in that province. Laurier bitterly opposed Macbratland's solution, arguing that however much he wanted to use French education divided in Manitoba, the federal government should not authorize or encourage provincial jurisdiction. His stand was less sympathy in Quebec and respect in Ontario. Last March Mulroney went to Winnipeg and delivered a passionate but locally controversial appeal to Manitobans to support the federal position. It was a watershed in the Tories' attempts to break through in Quebec, and it won Mulroney respect for his courage from anglophone Canadians. It was also the beginning of the contest realization that kept the Bay from Ross Corbett to victory last week.

# The Conservatives' mandate or change

By Carol Gear

The sudden fury of democracy was awesome to behold. For the first time in 35 years the Progressive Conservative leader Brian Mulroney commanded a majority of the popular vote in every province of the country and 51 of the 382 Commons seats. As the shock waves generated last week by Mulroney's massive victory subsided, the chief protagonists—Prime Minister-designate Brian Mulroney and his vanquished predecessor, John Turner—were preparing for the battles ahead. Mulroney's victory indicated that he had grasped the magnitude of his victory and the meaning of four years of exercising power that should be shed. In a typically gracious gesture Turner invited Mulroney to join him in welcoming Pope John Paul II, who was scheduled to arrive in Quebec City Sunday to begin his visit to Canada. But Mulroney, who will meet the pontiff as Prime Minister after his swearing-in on Sept. 17, politely declined, explaining: "In Canada there is only one Prime Minister at a time."

In any case Mulroney had weighed matters to attend to—not least of all the daunting, and perhaps ultimately impossible, task of satisfying an electorate that clearly thirsts for a new and improved style of government, and, in its overwhelming endorsement of Mulroney's Tories, had produced the first truly national government in Mulroney's adult life.

**Mandate or change?** With a single-mindedness that Canadian politics has not seen since John Diefenbaker's Conservative landslide swept across the land in 1958, about 76 per cent of the 16.6 million eligible voters unanimously ended nearly 32 years of Liberal rule. Mulroney's Tories were transformed from a collection of perennial outsiders into a powerful party of government. They now hold as fewer than 212 of the 382 Commons seats. The once-mighty Liberals under John Turner have been reduced to a paltry 60 seats—only 13 more than Edward Braithwaite's New Democrats, who survived the landslide with only one seat less than they held in the last Parliament.

While the Conservative victory surprised hardly anyone—pre-election



In Ottawa: Mulroney and Carol Gear, Mulroney with some Mark (left) and Richard

polls accurately projected the dimensions—its massive proportions fit, especially in Quebec. In fact, neither the winners nor the losers seemed able to find words to match the occasion. At the Mayflower Curling Club in Halifax, defeated Liberal Energy Minister Gerald Regan observed laconically, "The voters decided it was time for a change." In Calgary, defeated Liberal Bob Sikes bitterly declared that his party "needed a good housecleaning. Sometimes you do it yourself, and sometimes it's done for you." Mulroney's predecessor, Joe Clark, concluded: "Our real test will not be that we won tonight with such a massive majority. Our real test will be four years from now."

In Vancouver, a shaken Prime Minister John Turner, who managed to salvage personal victory in Quebec, fled from the Liberal wreckage, fatalistically acknowledged that "there is a flow in history." He then congratulated Mulroney and observed, "From coast to coast the people of Canada have spoken and the people are always right."

In Mississauga riding on Quebec's North Shore, Mulroney walked until Turner had telephoned him to concede defeat before arriving at their Commons community centre in the early hours of Wednesday morning. After his cabinet supporters gathered here with cheers that turned into a chant of "Mike, Mike," the 45-year-old lawyer and corporation executive who will be Canada's 18th Prime Minister called for reconciliation and tolerance for—and hence—"a Western, not a hegemonic, society. It's a choice, too long not understood." He added that Canadians had responded to a call for "a new definition of national goals."

**Practical** In fact, they will expect a good deal more than that. If the Conservatives' over-the-hill victory contained so inherent peril it was the correspondingly great expectations that inevitably accompany a landslide. But before he could begin planning the details of his future legislative program, the Prime Minister-designate was almost immediately propelled into the round of official duties that come with the title he was about to assume. After returning to Ottawa, Mulroney studied the hefty volumes of briefing material on federal government operations and was scheduled to meet with Turner on Monday for formal discussions on the Conservative transition. Mulroney was expected to be sworn in by Gov. Gen. Jeanne Sauvage next Monday, and announce the reshaping of his cabinet.

When he turns to the affairs of government, the new Prime Minister obviously will want to show early indications of delivering on his promises—explicit and implied—that stoked his mounting triumph. The nation's 12 million unemployed will ex-

pect moves to create new jobs, but the business community will look for tough and credible long-range measures to trim the \$30-billion federal deficit and improve the country's investment climate. The provinces—seven of them governed by Tory administrations—will want action on Mulroney's pledge of a new, co-operative approach in federal-province relations. In turn, citizens in each of the regions, not least of all the West, will be looking for signs that official co-operation will pay direct dividends in daily life.

**Adjusted** As a token of these high hopes, Alberta's Premier Peter Lougheed offered to postpone negotiations for a new oil-pricing agreement with Ottawa beyond the December deadline to give the government time to settle its old Canadian income, who saw a record 19 of their sex elected as Conservative members of Parliament, will expect early action on Mulroney's promise to study the provision of child care services and find ways of ensuring that women receive equal pay for work of equal value. The 160,000 acres of landless created scores of new jobs across the country and returned to Parliament such veterans as they politicians as Newfoundland's John O'Grady, Quebec's Paul Laframboise—the only Conservative elected in the last election—and Marcel Masse, a former provincial government minister who is a fervent Quebec nationalist, Ontario veterans and Clark cabinet ministers Flora MacDonald, Richard Stevens and David Cranston, and senators Kim Campbell's former aide and Winnipeg's Don McKinnon. Among the Tory newcomers, Halifax lawyer Stewart Hoffman, who defeated Energy Minister Gerald Regan, Gabrielle Bertrand, the widow of Quebec's former Union Nationale premier, and Calgary doctor Alan Kirby, who defeated Bob Sikes. It is to Mulroney's credit that he succeeded in welding together such disparate elements. The trick now will be to keep them together.

The humbled John Turner faces an even more daunting task. Although he at least will have a Commons seat and the title of leader of the Opposition, nearly all of his most promising lieutenants and half of his former cabinet ministers will not be in Parliament when it reconvenes later this fall. As well, there were persistent rumours within the party that supporters of Turner's principal leadership rival and former deputy prime minister, Jean Chrétien, are quietly working to have Turner removed from the party leadership so that Chrétien can take over. But Jean-Robert Gauthier, one of the Liberal MPs elected in Ontario and a staunch Christian supporter, rejected any suggestion that Turner should go. "I can't see us going into a leadership race," said



Mulroney (left) with Atkins, Crookall, Cernigoi (below) 'our real test will be four years from now'

## SPECIAL REPORT

Gasthous "We don't need one. We must avoid a public blood-letting."

Even so, discontent within the ranks over the party's slumped organisation and Turner's handling performance during the campaign were bound to create lasting friction. "We're like the Moody Tunes used to be," said a Turner aide to Prime Minister Lester Pearson. "This disgruntled, unhappy party has more factions than I've ever seen."

**Obituary:** While Turner faced a frustrating ordeal in Opposition, his leadership the months ahead present a long-awaited chance to put his priorities on the parliamentary agenda. Indeed, many New Democrats emerged from election night convinced that with the Liberals in minority, the rest could probably perform, as Broadbent's phrase, as "the real Opposition." Gerry Caplan, the party's campaign director, said, "The Liberals must be a mildly demoralized group, and it will take them some time to do anything with that disgruntled ramp." Broadbent was gratified that he defied predictions of politeness and political observers that his party was a spent force. Despite that, Broadbent, 46, is expected to retire before the next election. Among the likely outsiders for the succession: former Saskatchewan attorney general, Roy Romanow, and labor consultant Stephen Lewis, who led the Ontario NDP between 1970 and 1978.

For his part, Mulroney has already established a number of short-term priorities and a basic timetable for achieving them. Mulroney plans to convene a

federal-provincial first ministers' meeting on the economy next month to show the provinces that he genuinely wants to consult them before his government begins serious work on its first budget. Then, before the end of the year, the new finance minister—probably former Toronto investment executive Michael Wilson—will present an economic statement setting out the government's financial and monetary policies. Shortly afterward, Mulroney will stage the national economic summit conference that he promised during the Conservative leadership campaign. That forum will be designed to give Canadians in the business and labor sectors, women and members of ethnic and aboriginal groups a chance to contribute to the formulation of an economic strategy. The wide consultation process will culminate in February with the presentation of a budget.

In his first 180 days, Mulroney also plans to follow through on the few specific campaign promises he made. He intends to reverse the nine-per-cent fuel tax on farmers, fishermen and loggers as soon as possible. And he also intends to quickly introduce an employer tax credit program to encourage the creation of jobs for young people. Another promise on which Canadians can expect

to see rapid action is Mulroney's pledge to put the members of the Canadian Armed Forces' three main branches back into distinctive uniforms. Paragovernmental political reasons, the new Prime Minister can also be expected to make good on his often repeated undertaking to give back-benchers a more important role in Parliament—an important task for a Prime Minister with more than 175 back-benchers in his own party.

**Style:** In his first few months in office, Mulroney will have to move quickly to make his mark as a leader. According to Hugh Segal, a former associate cabinet secretary to Ontario's Premier William Davis, a new government sets its style, and can profoundly influence the public's feeling about it, with its first few major actions. Former prime minister Joe Clark learned that lesson to his sorrow with his five-month delay in calling Parliament, his early vow to relocate the Canadian Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, which he later reversed, and his inability to reach an energy pricing accord with Alberta.

Any high-risk action for Mulroney may be in the difficult, but key, policy areas on which his position is unclear or unknown. Throughout the campaign, Mulroney refused to say whether or not



The Turners: Gail (left), daughter Elizabeth, sons Andrew (front), David and John

he would implement the Liberal government's one-per-cent increase in the federal sales tax. If that key vote goes into force on Oct. 1 as scheduled, consumers will face price increases on most goods. Nor did the Conservative leader ever make it clear how soon, and by what means, he hopes to reduce the federal deficit. As well, Mulroney at first pledged during the campaign to curb rising interest rates, then progressively belied that undertaking. At one point Mulroney declared flatly that, given a choice between the evils of a Canadian dollar that has been declining in value against U.S. currency and rising interest rates, he would allow the dollar to slide. But during the final week of the campaign Mulroney declared, "We believe the response to our current dilemma in the short run is to keep our interest rates as low as possible without causing a run on the dollar."

On the issue of Quebec, Mulroney is bound to devote as much attention to the welfare of his native province as did Pierre Trudeau. Politically, he will need to secure his re-election base across the province. Philosophically, Mulroney is so committed to furthering the lot of Quebecers and francophones everywhere, as was Trudeau.

But his approach to the government of Quebec is likely to be a dramatic change from that of the Trudeau Liberals, who adopted an accommodationist posture on most matters faced by Premier René Lévesque's Parti Québécois government. Not only did Quebecers of Lévesque supporters vote for Mulroney, after the vote the Quebec premier was confident

that he would implement the Liberal government's one-per-cent increase in the federal sales tax. If that key vote goes into force on Oct. 1 as scheduled, consumers will face price increases on most goods. Nor did the Conservative leader ever make it clear how soon, and by what means, he hopes to reduce the federal deficit. As well, Mulroney at first pledged during the campaign to curb rising interest rates, then progressively belied that undertaking. At one point Mulroney declared flatly that, given a choice between the evils of a Canadian dollar that has been declining in value against U.S. currency and rising interest rates, he would allow the dollar to slide. But during the final week of the campaign Mulroney declared, "We believe the response to our current dilemma in the short run is to keep our interest rates as low as possible without causing a run on the dollar."

**Opponents:** Another of Mulroney's articles of faith is that Canada must respect its obligations with the United States, which the Tory leader has called "our closest friend, neighbor and ally." That initiative seemed to be soundly rejected. The morning after his election victory, the manager of Le Monde had rushed to call Mulroney that President Ronald Reagan was calling from Washington. The president congratulated Mulroney on his victory, and the two men, who met last June when the Conservative leader visited Washington, talked about their political experience since then. The conversation lasted five minutes.

In the days following his massive victory, Mulroney played the role of victor with dignity and carried out his first official duties with aplomb. But he admitted to Mulroney's Ottawa reporter Terry Hargreaves on the eve of the election that the prospect of becoming Prime Minister made him nervous. Comparing himself to a bridegroom approaching the altar, he said: "The wedding is over, it's 48 hours away, you don't want to change it, the mother-in-law is on the phone, it's coming and you don't really know exactly what it will be even though you want to do it."

But when election day dawned, Mul-

roney was serene. After an early dinner with Mitt, he settled down to watch the election results, surrounded by a dozen aides and friends, including Michael Coppen, an old law school colleague who helped run his leadership campaign, his press secretary William Fox, executive assistant William Piotrowski, special policy adviser Charles Macfieff—who was widely expected to become Mulroney's personal secretary—his chief of staff Fred Boudart and old friend Christian lawyer Loren Boudart.

Even before Mulroney took in the television networks had started projecting a Conservative majority. Still, he had a few anxious moments before early reports indicated that the popular and hard-working Liberal incumbent, André Malin, was leading in Manicouaga. But Mulroney's appeal to voters in the riding as a business leader about to be Prime Minister soon reversed that trend and at 8:53 p.m. Radio-Canada declared Mulroney the victor.

Across the country, the same general idea was running. Making itself felt first in the Atlantic provinces, the sweep overwhelmed 15 Liberals, including three cabinet ministers. In all, the Tories won 33 of the region's 32 seats, including all but one of the five largely francophone ridings in northern and eastern New Brunswick and the seat of former Conservative premier, Seneca, Brian MacBrien.

**Slaughter:** About 18 minutes before the television networks went on the air in Central Canada, CBC and CTV had projected a Conservative majority. In Quebec, where the Tories held only one seat, the results were even more stunning than in the Atlantic region. The Conservatives crushed the once unrepentable Liberal fortress and cleaned 28 of the province's 75 seats. In the process, the Tories defeated some 10 of the province's cabinet members and two former ministers in the Trudeau cabinet. The Tories—who elected 11 women in Quebec—pre-empted in one region of the province, snatching up seats in the Gaspé peninsula, surrounding into the Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean area in the province's northeast, where the conservatives had the backing of the Parti Québécois, and even winning seats in the once solidly Liberal bastion of Montreal's anglophone west end.

In Quebec there was a similar slaughter. The Conservatives won 47 seats, compared to 34 for the Liberals, for a gain of 29. Eight ministers went down to defeat. The New Democrats picked up 38 seats in the province—eight more than





Angus (left) McRoberts: "The voters decided it was time for a change."

#### SPECIAL REPORT

last time. The gains included former agriculture minister Eugene Whelan's Essex-Windsor seat, and Ottawa Centre, which former Ontario party leader Michael Cassidy won with a 50-vote margin. Dave Chislett, the defeated Tory, said he would ask for an official recount. But the shock was the reverse in standings of the two main parties. In Metropolitan Toronto the PCs took 11 ridings from the Liberals.

In the West, already dominated by Tories, the PCs claimed nine new seats, including five on the Prairies and three in British Columbia that had previously belonged to the NDP. One surprise was

the strength shown by the Confederation of Regions Western Party—it would like to see Canada divided into four semi-autonomous regions—which ran across in three Manitoba ridings. Joe Clark, who easily won his own Redbank riding in Alberta, claimed part of the credit for the Tory victory. "The Tory victory is not Malroux's alone," he told a crowd of supporters in Spence Green, Alta. "Joe Clark and a number of other candidates contributed a good deal."

Overall the Tories won a majority of the popular vote in the Atlantic, Quebec and Alberta. The Liberals, in turn, ran third behind the PCs in most ridings. That the most striking aspect of the

Tory landslide was that the party appropriated the old Liberal coalition and defied the old theory that, when times are tough, people move to the left. According to a computerized analysis by the CBC, in the ridings across the country with the highest unemployment (more than 30 per cent), Conservatives won 46 per cent of the popular vote, while 11 per cent voted from the Liberals and seven per cent from the NDP. And in Metropolitan Toronto's 11 populous ethnic ridings—traditionally dominated by the Liberals—the Tories won four from the Liberals. The numbers indicated a dramatic erosion of Liberal support among the very groups—new Canadians, the unemployed and the poor—that have traditionally been the party's principle constituencies.

The CBC analysis also confirmed the Tory domination of 68 swing seats where the winning margin in the last election was less than five per cent. The PCs won 16 from the Liberals. The CBC statistics also bluntly spelled out one of the costs of Turner's acquiescence to his predecessor's patronage system. In the 28 ridings vacated by the beneficiaries of Liberal patronage, the Conservatives won 17 seats and the PCs took three.

**Blue landslide:** A total of 15 Liberal ministers were cut down. The wave of casualties began with Veterans Affairs Minister Bennett Campbell in Prince Edward Island, confronted with Reginald Hildesley and Fisheries Minister Herbert Renna in New Brunswick. The next continued in Quebec, where Trade Minister Francis Fox, Secretary of State Brian Kilgus and Regional Development Minister René Dupont were unseated. In Ontario, Industrial Expansion Minister Ed Lumsley was defeated in Cornwall, while four Toronto ministers—Employment Minister John Roberts, Tourism Minister David Smith, Multiculturalism Minister David Colborne and Revenue Minister Roy MacLaren—were beaten.

In Northern Ontario, the political exorcism of Consumer Affairs Minister Judy Smith and Defence Minister Jacques Haas were shattered in defeat. As the blue landslide moved west, the only western member of the Tories cabinet, Lloyd Axworthy, managed to survive with a slender 2,294-vote margin in his Winnipeg riding. It was, admitted Axworthy, something of a miracle.

The political message was accompanied by scenes of jubilation and despair across the country. At a Conservative victory celebration in Vancouver, killed hoppers accompanied such victorious Tory into the ballroom of the Hyatt Regency hotel, and Bill Clark, the incumbent Conservative who lost to Turner in Quadra riding, told the crowd: "It's a great day for Canada, I'm sorry not to bring better news from Quadra. The only problem was that a few people

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decided the Liberals should have a leader," in Toronto's Spadina riding. Trudeau's former principal secretary, James Coates, was defeated for the second time by New Democrat Dan Hoeg. Later, Coates told supporters in a church basement: "There is criticism of John Turner. Join the trends we were against us." In southwestern Ontario's Windsor-Walkerville riding, which was previously held by former Justice Minister Mark MacGillivray and before that by veteran Liberal minister Paul Martin, the newly elected NDP member Howard McCurdy, a professor of microbiology who will be the only black in the House of Commons, told supporters that "you have brought about a historic change."

**Reactions** In Rae Gosses, Mulroney and his supporters were enjoying an exhilarating but exhausting night. All over Conservative precincts called to congratulate the Prime Minister-elect, while Mulroney's ardent supporters waited impatiently in the local recreation centre for him to arrive. But Mulroney refused to leave until Turner had conceded defeat in Vancouver. With the three-hour time difference, it was 12:30 a.m. local time when the Liberal leader telephoned to congratulate Mulroney and offer his cooperation in "a smooth and orderly transition." Party members later, Mulroney set out for the arena and a nonstop release. Tory organizers handed out buttons declaring "Now the North Shore has a Prime Minister." For 10 minutes the crowd cheered, until he put her finger to her lips to quiet the roaring assembly.

At the other end of the country, a small and subdued crowd gathered at the Turner headquarters in the hallways of Vancouver's Westin Bayshore hotel. "Ladies and gentlemen, welcome to a cliff-hanger," said former Liberal cabinet minister Ron Bakker as he introduced the outgoing Prime Minister. Vowing to stay on as leader and rebuild



Goswami and wife Mulroney: gleeful, relaxed and ready to be the real opposition.

his shattered party, Turner thanked his wife, Gellie, and his four children for their support and urged defeated Liberal candidates to work with him. "Your experience and commitment are absolutely essential to the future of the party," he told them.

In the Ontario automotive city of Oshawa, Broadbent wound up the night earlier than either of his two chief opponents. At 12:30 a.m. he crossed at Oshawa's United Auto Workers Local 289 hall for the second time, where 200 cheering supporters waited. "Never before in history, when there has been a national election," declared Broadbent, "has the third party moved in a significant direction upward like we have tonight. You can be sure that the government will have to pay attention." Broadbent said that he would be pres-

siding the Mulroney government on the issues of tax reform, equality for women and job creation.

**Crippin'** In the Liberal camp, the post-mortem began immediately, with the debate centering on whether the party had lost the election because it was out of touch with the electorate or because of Turner's lackluster performance during most of the campaign. Liberal pollster Martin Goldfarb argued that Turner was the principal culprit, and pointed to the televised leaders' debate in July as the turning point. The critical moment, he said, came when Turner explained his decision to accept Trudeau's paternity arrangements with "I had no option." With these words, argued Goldfarb, Turner "assured to be a leader."

Conservative pollster Allan Gregg believed that the Liberal error lay in another equally significant way. When, in the bitter stages of the campaign, Turner brought in Liberal voters Keith Dorsey to help and began giving himself credit for the record of the Trudeau government, said Gregg, the result was to portray Turner "as a mirror of the status quo and the Conservatives said 'well, thank you' and away they went." By the final week of the campaign, Gregg's polls showed that two out of every three Canadians were ready to vote Tory. Because they generally believed the party could bring better government.

The decisive election event took place in Quebec, where the Conservatives' achievement surpassed party strategists' wildest expectations. One Liberal organizer recalled that he had warned Turner of the impending disaster during the campaign after it had become gila-

## The regional vote breakdown

Atlantic Region				Ontario				B.C.			
32 seats	1984	1990		50 seats	1984	1990		28 seats	1984	1990	
PC:	35	(33)		PC:	67	(38)		PC:	19	(16)	
Lib:	7	(09)		Lib:	14	(22)		Lib:	1	(3)	
NDP:	0	(0)		NDP:	13	(18)		NDP:	8	(12)	
Other:	0	(0)		Other:	1	(0)		Other:	0	(0)	
Quebec				Prairies				NWT/Yukon			
75 seats	1984	1990		48 seats	1984	1990		3 seats	1984	1990	
PC:	58	(1)		PC:	39	(37)		PC:	2	(0)	
Lib:	17	(14)		Lib:	1	(0)		Lib:	0	(0)	
NDP:	0	(0)		NDP:	9	(14)		NDP:	0	(0)	
Other:	0	(0)		Other:	0	(0)		Other:	0	(0)	

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# John Turner maps his future

As the first grainy results trickled in from the West Coast an election night, John Turner declared to the friends and aides gathered in his Vancouver hotel suite. "There will be no crying here tonight!" Then he gave a woman staff member a reassuring hug and began work on the speech that would coincide victory to Brian Mulroney. Even when the magnitude of the federal party's defeat became clear, Turner maintained a brave front. And in the end he was saved a final humiliation, when voters in Vancouver's Quadra riding outvoted the opinion polls and elected him to the House of Commons by a 5,224-vote margin. But when he went from a hotel ballroom to thank his would-be local party workers, Turner allowed a rare glimpse of the fallible and vulnerable man behind his customary mask of bleak self-assurance. Huddled on a flaked truck outside his cheap headquarters in downtown Vancouver, Turner resembled a stunned survivor of a major natural disaster who discovers that his own house is still standing.

**Blackie:** Only 15 minutes after, formally acknowledging national defeat in the ballroom of the Westin Bayshore hotel, the Prime Minister deployed the resolve that fortified him throughout a bleak night. He made it clear that he was determined to cling to the party leadership, rebuild the shattered Liberal effort from the ground and appoint Mulroney's Conservatives in the next election—just as in his hero, the late Lester B. Pearson, did in 1963 after a devastating defeat in 1966. Already, Turner and his closest advisers had begun plotting the long journey back. And in his occasional speech he quoted Pearson: "The people decide these things, and in a democracy we accept the results without complaint or question."

But as Turner's fellow Liberals surveyed the wreckage left by the Tory tidal wave, there were complaints and questions about John Turner himself and the wisdom of keeping him on as leader. On the eve of the election, Turner, exhausted from six punishing months on the campaign trail, confined to a few senior party supporters that as soon as the election was over he would take a badly needed vacation in Jamaica—where he had been relaxing when word reached him last February of Pierre Trudeau's decision to retire. Turner's friends were appalled at the



Turner phoning broadcast on election night: "the people are always right"

suggestion "You can't do that," a member of the party's executive told him. "The media are going to have a field day with this. You've got to meet with whatever remnants of your caucus and start putting things back together again." Turner listened to the advice but postponed the decision.

Well before the reforms began rolling in, Turner was briefed for defeat. On election day the Prime Minister sat out early to pay courtier calls at some of the polls in his riding. While he was out, Turner's staff received a phone call from Mulroney's headquarters in Roseau, Que. The Tory leader, helpfully, left his phone number so that Turner would be able to call him that night and—although Mulroney did not pick it up—concede him the victory.

**Dedicated:** When the first polls closed in Eastern Canada, Turner was dined in his hotel with a group of dedicated supporters, including John Swift, his principal secretary, John dell Payne, a Montreal publicist and friend, personal aide Michael Hamilton, and Turner's executive assistant, Paul Rouleau. As well, his former law partner, William McDonnell, had flown from Toronto, and two secretaries and a speech writer, muzzed the telephones, taking results from party director Gordon Ashworth in Ottawa.

From when the brutal scale of the Liberal defeat became clear, Turner seemed the most composed person in the cramped room. "The man was a rock," recalling a clearly impressed aide. "I couldn't believe he was taking it so well." As government Liberals began going down to defeat, Turner placed phone calls to them.

As the Liberals began to fold up with devastating swiftness, Turner strolled between the election-waiting room and the nearby private family suite, ate dinner with his staff, then resumed work on his speech. But for long stretches he simply sat, as the rain streamed down the hotel window, submitting stoically to the verdict of the voters. Once during the evening, Turner's facade faltered when Industrial Relations Minister Ed Leamy was declared defeated in the eastern Ontario riding of Stornoway-Dundas. Turner's

advisers had considered that once-again Liberal stronghold as a likely place for Turner to seek a by-election and should he lose Quadra. The Prime Minister briefly showed his distress. "I can't understand it," he growled. His friends gathered around to assure him that Canadians had decisively repudiated the Liberal party, not just Turner.

Turner had in wait until 9:05 p.m. Vancouver time to learn of his own fate in Quadra. Watching the seat was equal to him because it meant the difference between continuing to watch Parliament from the victors' gallery—while angry Liberals planned his replacement—and launching his career



President with daughter, Christine, in Ottawa, earlier

as Opposition leader in the House of Commons. Then, when party workers began reporting the first encouraging Quadra results, Turner could find no words to express his relief. But 90 minutes later, they came tumbling out as he addressed his riding workers. "Thank you, thank you, thank you. It's immensely grateful to be the citizens of this riding."

**Mark:** Turner's personal victory over Conservative incumbent William Clark was the result of his dogged knocking in the final week of the campaign, rendering long hours of effort by his family. His wife, Gail, was under great strain in trouble several times during the campaign, because a familiar

figure in the riding and she commanded attention in the final days by taking a conference to the island. President Ronald Reagan would lose this fall's U.S. election. Turner's daughter Elizabeth, 20, soaked the riding through the campaign and secured a tough post-secondary education in the process. The decisive victory that saved her last year campaign publicly an oral session, when she dismissed critical journalists and pollsters at a public meeting with the blunt words, "Scrow them all!" The couple's three sons, Michael, 25, David, 18, and Andrew, 18, had little direct involvement in the campaign, but stood uncomfortably, hands in their pockets, trying to hide the hurt, as their father acknowledged defeat.

Even before Canadians forced the Liberals out of office at the polls, a frustrated Turner had begun tentatively charting a way back to power. On the eve of the election, he had dinner with party president Iona Campagnolo—subsequently defeated in North Vancouver-Burnaby—and for four hours the two discussed an agenda for rebuilding the party. A general party conference—without a leadership review—will be held in 1985 to formulate a blueprint for party reform. Turner and Campagnolo agreed to use that meeting to begin redefining the organization by computerizing membership lists and implementing direct-mail fund-raising—all the features of sophisticated political machinery that the Conservatives have had for the past three years.

**Groundwork:** Later the same evening, Turner met for 45 minutes with a veteran backroom Liberal to start laying the groundwork for an ad-hoc conference similar to Pearson's 1960 Study Conference on National Problems at Kingston which helped revitalize a party floundering in the wake of a defeat in the Disraeli election of 1958. The two men agreed that it is time to re-examine the tenets of Liberalism, seek ways of reaching voters under 40, attract new talent, and examine the role that women can play.

Turner never seriously contemplated a return to corporate life. Committed to his career in politics after eight years in private life, Turner was prepared, if necessary, to spend the next three months in the "church basement crawl," to win a by-election if he lost Quadra. And he has told aides that he is prepared to fight hard for his leadership if he is challenged in the Liberal 1986 convention. "I am not going to let some suits within the party leaders take. But as a close friend noted, one of Turner's talents "is that he looks away down the road and around the corner." It is a talent he is likely to need during the politically dangerous months ahead.

—CLARE GOLD in Vancouver

# The ministers-in-waiting

By Mary Janigan

**W**ith the largest caucus in Canadian history to choose from, incoming prime minister Brian Mulroney will unveil a cabinet next week that contains some bright new faces along with veterans from the Conservative front benches. Among the likely members of the new cabinet:

**Bob Nielsen:** An aggressively partisan and directly legal Conservative, Nielsen, 60, has represented the Yukon in Parliament since 1957. During the Second World War he was the Dufferin-based Flying Officer. And the grim determination of those years has carried over into his subsequent career as a lawyer and a parliamentarian. Nielsen tends to dislike Liberals on principle—and he has zealously unseated Liberal senators and fought the party in Parliament for 35 years. In Joe Clark's short-lived government of 1979, Nielsen served as public works minister. In the new cabinet, Nielsen will have a solid portfolio plus the sought-after role of deputy prime minister.

**John Greville:** A Newfoundlanders with a quick tongue, a barbed wit and a fast mind—and all those have caused him trouble during a 29-year political career. A lawyer who did postgraduate work at the London School of Economics, Greville, 58, began his political career as a city councillor in St. John's, and from 1966 to 1969 he served as a Liberal minister in the provincial government until he clashed with then Premier Joey Smallwood and crossed over to the Conservatives. An MP since 1974, Greville was finance minister in Joe Clark's government—and it was a vote of confidence on his budget that year that brought down the government. Last year he traded both Brian Mulroney and Joe Clark in the leadership contest. He will probably get the justice portfolio.

**Gurude Harthoven:** An academic and industrialist crossover from Saint John, Harthoven, 55, is a veteran of New Brunswick politics. A former teacher and high school principal, he was first elected to the provincial legislature in 1972 and he held three cabinet portfolios under Premier Richard Hatfield. He also served as government house leader before deciding to run for a federal seat



in the 1984 election. He has a reputation for being an intelligent and likable politician and a useful administrator. With his extensive cabinet experience at the provincial level, Harthoven will probably get the problem-plagued fisheries portfolio.

**Marcel Masse:** A highly successful businessman, Masse was once the youngest cabinet minister in Quebec history as a member of Premier Daniel Johnson's Union Nationale government during the late 1950s. Masse also acquired a reputation as an impressive and sophisticated administrator, a political moderate and an ardent Quebec nationalist.

In 1971, after an unsuccessful bid for the Union Nationale party leadership, he turned to the federal Tories and ran successfully in 1974. When he finally won the Quebec riding of Pontiac in this month's federal election, Masse, 58, was vice-president of marketing and commercial development for the giant Montreal engineering firm of Lavalin. He will receive senior economic portfolio—possibly an indicator of regional economic exposure.

**Robert de Cotret:** De Cotret was the president of the Conference Board of Canada when Joe Clark turned him into politics as a star candidate in a 1978 Quebec by-election. Although he lost his seat in the 1979 federal election, Clark named him to the Senate and appointed him to the industry and economic development portfolio in office. De Cotret was a skilled and thoughtful administrator. But he occasionally bristled and arrogant manner made as many enemies as friends. He resigned from the Senate to run for a Quebec seat in the 1985 federal election but lost. He then joined the National Bank of Canada as Montreal area executive vice-president. De Cotret, 48, will have an economic portfolio, possibly the industry portfolio.

**Michael Wilson:** A quiet and dignified Toronto investment counselor, Wilson won on his first try for a parliamentary seat in 1979. Even though he was a rookie, Joe Clark made him minister of state for international trade. Wilson earned a reputation as a solid and intelligent—if uninspiring—performer. Consistently lacking in charisma, Wilson placed fourth in last year's Conservative leadership contest. The 46-year-old MP will probably receive the coveted finance portfolio—a ministry where a sharp mind and steady nerves are needed.

**Fiona MacDonald:** A fiery, reform-minded Conservative, MacDonald was an administrative officer at Queen's University when she decided to run for Parliament in 1978. A former secretary and a former executive director of the Conservative party, MacDonald easily won her Kingston seat. And by 1980—when she used unsuccessfully for the party leadership—she had a reputation as a left-leaning fighter for social justice. MacDonald held external affairs in the 1979 Tory government and tangled with the federal bureaucracy when she tried to bring home rights practices into Canada's relations with

**Rueben Huot:** Huot, a respected Boston lawyer, Huotings was first elected to the House of Commons in 1974, and he quickly acquired a reputation as a "nice guy" and an "effective and bright politician" with a good grasp of detail. In 1979 Clark named him—unexpectedly—into the treacherous energy portfolio, and the gentlemanly Huotings won respect as a skilled provincial general over oil prices. Now, Huotings, 50, will probably receive the key post of government house leader—a role that better suits his impressive legal mind.

**Don Mazankowski:** A down-to-earth, successful MP, Mazankowski, 49, has represented the rural Alberta riding of Vegreville since 1968 and was one of the brightest stars in Clark's government. As transport minister, he was determined to reform, and he favored the idea of better deregulation and improved railway transportation facilities for Prairie farmers. A former automobile dealer, Mazankowski wants transport again—and Mulroney will probably give it to him.

**Joseph Clark:** He is only 46, but the disappointment of defeat has given the former prime minister the dignity and gravity of an older statesman. Only eight years ago the little-known Alberta back-bencher was the Tory leadership in an upset victory. He went on to form a minority government next in 1979 which lasted only one month after winning a three-year battle to retain the party leadership. Clark lost it to Mulroney at last year's party convention. A loyal Mulroney supporter since then, Clark campaigned hard for the new prime minister and probably will be rewarded with the coveted external affairs portfolio.

**Raylene Carney:** The bright but inexperienced Carney, 47, has been a solid performer for the Tories since she was first elected to the House in 1980. An economist and former member of the Economic Council of Canada, Carney, now 48, worked as a consultant in Vancouver and during the 1970s ran a consulting firm that specialized in social and economic problems in the Canadian Arctic. As a parliamentarian she is respected for her careful research and unobtrusive approach to issues. She is not a colorful debater, but her quiet, reserved arguments often put the Liberals on the defensive. She will likely receive the key energy portfolio.



Masse (left), MacDonald (right) new appointments, former faces

Nielsen (left), Clark (right) how to direct the sports event

other nations. MacDonald, 58, will probably be appointed to the explosive manpower and immigration portfolio.

**John Rapp:** The soft-spoken Manitobaer was a high school teacher when he first ran for the Commons in 1972 and was a seat. An affable and highly principled politician, Rapp held the Indian affairs portfolio in Joe Clark's government and he acquired a reputation for being a thoughtful and sensitive administrator—and—as a Manitoban—a politician who rarely goes for the political jugular. Rapp, 45, will probably receive the health and welfare portfolio.

# The Tory dawn in Quebec

By Anthony Wilson-Smith

**M**ontreal lawyer Marcel Dugas, a longtime Joe Clark loyalist and aspiring legislator, has been in ill-luck since he lost his personal campaign for victory when Liberal leader John Turner announced the election two months ago. Dugas, a part-time lecturer at Montreal's Concordia University, recalled that he told his employers, "Don't worry. I'll be back ready to teach the day after the election—when I lose." That last Tuesday Dugas was in his second attempt at a federal seat. In the process he defeated Liberal Bernard Lavigne, a 19-year parliamentary veteran in the Montreal South Shore riding of Verdun, overcoming a 30,000 Liberal vote majority and running up his own margin of about 20,000 votes. That made him one of 38 Quebec Tories elected to Parliament—a record total that stands even without Conservative opponents. Said Michel Côté, a key Quebec Tory organizer and an old friend of Brian Mulroney: "Anybody who says they foresee something of this magnitude is a bloody liar."

**New area** In the aftermath of the party's victory last week many Quebec Tories were still having trouble believing the numbers. With 60 per cent of the province's vote, they quadrupled their 1989 support under former leader Joe Clark. And with 58 of 75 ridings, they eclipsed the previous record of 54 Quebec seats won by John Diefenbaker in 1958. Already, some observers are predicting that the coalition of provincial Liberals, Parti Québécois members, former Conservatives and independent Liberals led by Mulroney will seize the reins of a new era at both the provincial and federal levels for the province. Unlike the virtually anti-federal Diefenbaker, who flattered none in Quebec support, the Tories are recognized that Mulroney will not only yield his grip on his home province. Declared Montreal lawyer Richard Haldein, a veteran of 31 years of Tory backroom organizing: "I don't see how because he had [then-Premier Maurice] Duplessis doing all his work for him. Mulroney won because he is Mulroney and he owes debts to no one."

Many observers in fact attribute the overwhelming Tory win to a mixture of Mulroney's personal appeal, political shrewdness, some fortuitous things—

and the surprising weakness of the Liberals in their traditional "old-time fort." In Quebec the Tories entered their advertising on Mulroney, while in other provinces the emphasis was on the Tory issue. That tactic grew more from necessity than from any desire to foster a Tory leadership cult. Declared Côté: "Frankly, we had no choice. Brian was



MP Dugas: Mulroney was the Tory everybody knew

the only Conservative in Quebec that everybody had heard of."

By highlighting the leader they also read the point that this was the first election in Canadian history pitting a Quebec-born Conservative chief against a Liberal leader from outside the province. As well, Mulroney's background upbringing gave him another advantage: an informal PC poll indicated that more than 50 per cent of the province's francophones consider him to be one of them, while 70 per cent of Quebec anglo-

phones consider him to be English.

The polls also indicated that anglophones and francophones alike largely approved of Mulroney's strong support of minority language rights in Manitoba—his position that officially cast him as the successor to the last Quebec Premier, Minister of Canada Pierre Trudeau. Conversely, many Quebecers were uncertain of John Turner and resented him over the popular Jean Charest. Workers for both parties said that many voters who rejected the Liberals would have stayed with the party had Charest been leader. Said 38-year-old dance instructor Micheline Martin-Pichette, of Louisville (25 km west of Trois-Rivières), who strenuously opposed her ballot: "I would have voted Liberal with Charest there."

**Sweep** Many people credit Quebec Tory campaign chairman Bernard Roy with putting together an electoral coalition that strongly out-bid the Liberals under Turner loyalist André Gauthier. Mulroney chose Roy, a methodical maverick "the plodder" by some Tories, in part because he has no previous political ties or enemies. The Montreal-born Roy, who has known Mulroney since they were in law school together 28 years ago, helped soothe bad feelings among former Joe Clark supporters and encouraged voting

anglophones across the province to actively recruit both provincial Liberals and Physiques. The Tories also received a political assist when provincial Liberal leader Robert Bourassa, another old Mulroney friend, told his workers that they were free to support either side. Premier René Lévesque and several members of his cabinet clearly indicated that they wanted a Conservative government in Ottawa.

Yet even the most fervent Tories did not dream of the sweep by men and

women angry about the state of the country but respectful of their local concerns. Recalled Dugas: "I walked into my campaign room one day, and there were the biggest [provincial] Liberals and Physiques in the room, side by side. I thought they were going to kill each other—but instead they were talking about how much fun it would be to be on the same team for once."

The acts of collaboration across Quebec gave the Conservatives the money and workers to mount a successful effort. In the rural riding of Berthier-Blainville-Lac-des-Érables, for one, Robert René de Guey, a wealthy member of a Mulroney cabinet, chartered 40 of the riding's 40 municipalities by helicopter car-

ried out the job done, and then they could be.

And Liberals and Conservatives agree that Turner committed a serious error when he attacked three Tory candidates who backed the *Quebec* side and favored sovereignty-association for Quebec with Canada, an option that Quebec voters resoundingly rejected in a 1980 referendum. Quebec nationalism is currently defining, but newspaper editors saw the province discounting Turner for reopening old wounds. By contrast, Mulroney—one of the most active members of the New side in the referendum—was able to present himself as a conciliator trying to bring all Quebecers back into Confederation.

speak any English. And the sheer size of the Quebec contingent means that some members who expected to win a cabinet seat will be disappointed.

**Header** At the same time, the win practically guarantees improved relations between Ottawa and Quebec. Apart from Lévesque's indication that he wanted to do business with someone other than the federal Liberals, the Quebec premier and his party are themselves trafficking the *Quebec* Liberals in the polls and are unlikely to openly antagonize a new government supported mostly by Quebecers. Lévesque, who made several bets on a PC victory before the election, said last week that he is prepared to reopen constitutional



Christian Bédard and Gilles Lévesque sat on the Tories, and Bourassa freed his Liberal forces to work for Mulroney

ing the 87-day campaign. As well, an election day de Guey dispatched 35 lieutenants to polling stations around the riding to pass along any irregularities. Indeed, one volunteer drove 150 km so that the riding's chief returning officer could validate a registration card after a voter complained that he was not listed at the parish polling station.

**Secrets** But many Liberals were reluctant to believe that the Tories could outmaneuver them in Quebec. Louise Mercier, a former president of the party's Quebec wing, bluntly described Turner's banner election call as suicidal. But a senior Turner loyalist in Montreal repeated the news-astute news of recent history: "One can't blame the leader," he said. "The local people told him they

finally, members of both parties say that the last round of national polls one week before voting day indicating that the Conservatives would form the next government boosted Tory fortunes. Declared Bernard Roy: "Quebecers have been known to vote on a winning bet." As a result, there were not thought possible. They included the tapping of Liberal cabinet ministers René Bédard in the Gaspé and Montserrat Francis Fox and Serge Joyal.

Even so, the long-expected breakthrough in Quebec carries with it some debate problems for Mulroney. Many of his fellow Quebecers may speak only French, and the heavily bilingual party leader must strike those newly elected members with cautious members who

talks with Ottawa and end a three-year boycott of federal-provincial conferences, even though he is not prepared to abandon his plan to stop pushing Quebec's cause. Mulroney, in turn, has said he would consider making Quebec a signatory to the Constitution "with honor." Declared Lévesque: "Living in the system we have, there's no reason why we shouldn't try to make it work better." Clearly, even with his ministerial support from Quebec, Mulroney has to demonstrate that the province's future lies within Confederation. Failure to do so could cause his newly won majority to vanish as quickly as it appeared.

With Anne Mulroney in Montreal and Dan Porter in Berthier-Blainville-Conservative



24 Sussex Drive: expensive redecoration points to a need for guidelines that Tenenets, bare necessities and the public are aware of

#### SPECIAL REPORT

## The cost of feeling at home

By Terry Hargreaves

When the Brian Mulroney of Montcalm moved into 24 Sussex Drive and the John Turners of Vancouver moved into 1300 Avenue Road, their families will have lived in Ottawa's two leading official residences since 1985. In five-and-a-half years and during the Conservative leader's election to party chief in June 1985, the public works department and private consultants have overseen renovations and redecoration at the two stately homes totalling \$383,240. Now, as soon as the Tories replace Grits, the residences are likely to undergo all-federal improvements. And once again, Canada's taxpayers will be asked to underwrite the cost of the personal tastes and preferences of the new occupants.

Ottawa architect Colin Humphreys, who decorated both 24 Sussex and Stormont for Joe Clark and Mulroney in 1979 and 1980, remarks that the time has come for federal self-reflection: "It is time to regularize when these redecoration should happen," he said. "A policy paper should be established that tenants, bureaucrats and the public are aware of." But Canada's own

first family may not agree. In the past few years, only minor redecoration has been carried out and a change in tenants is generally considered the optimal time for large-scale renovation. The Mulroneys have already sold the fourth's Westmount residence in Montreal. As for the Turners, their plans for Stormont remain as uncertain as the Opposition leader's political future. The Turners already own a handsome home in Toronto's exclusive Forest Hills district, which they see likely to retain. **Mulroneys** The tradition of public subsidies for the residences of the Prime Minister and Opposition leader is relatively new in Canada. Indeed, it was not until 1950 that Liberal leader Louis St. Laurent became the first to live at 24 Sussex without having to finance a mortgage or upkeep. The PM moved into the 30-room manor on the east bank of the Ottawa River eight years after the government expropriated the house and laid from lumber titan Gordon O. Edwards, whose family had owned it for 45 years. The cost of providing a house for the Prime Minister was \$257,319.95. Until then, St. Laurent lived modestly in a downtown Ottawa apartment building. Even after the move, he continued paying rent—a practice Lester Pearson adopted and Pierre Trudeau followed

until 1971, when the government assumed the cost. Stormont first became home to an Opposition leader—George Drew—in 1956, after Conservative Senator Gratton O'Leary rented \$55,000 to buy the residence on leafy Avenue Drive in Rockcliffe Village. But it was not until 1971 that the government formally took over Stormont.

Originally called "Geoffrey's"—Welsh for "place of peace"—24 Sussex was built for about \$25,000 in 1887 by lumberman and MP Joseph Gossier. The Gothic, dark grey Gloucester limestone residence on five manicured acres has been criticized by some residents for its unmanageable size and isolation. But life behind the eight-foot high wrought iron fence has always been on a far grander scale than at Stormont. The house includes five fireplaces, eight tiled bathrooms, over-sized living and dining areas—in addition to the indoor swimming pool that Pierre Trudeau had installed in 1973 after six-and-a-half private dollars contributed about \$200,000. The pool, connected by underground tunnel to the main house, is surrounded by a sauna, shower, sun-porch and kitchenette. The Mulroneys are expected to make frequent use of the facility. Mulroney played in Turf crowds during the campaign by Jacqui

Levitte, the faithful to once by a car. "All you need is a towel," he told one supporter.

Outside 24 Sussex, the 1700 stands guard at the gates 24 hours a day, and the National Capital Commission supplies uniforms as required—the cost of the service these years was \$40,000. In 1980-81, during Trudeau's stay, the entertainment bill charged to the taxpayers was \$85,000. By contrast, Ronald Reagan's congressional mandated entertainment budget for 1980 was \$200,000. The 182-room White House was redecorated with private funds—in 1961 at a cost of \$625,000. Major renovations were completed during Trudeau's first occupancy, between 1968-76, at a cost of about \$300,000. The bill included construction of Margaret Trudeau's "freedom room" on the second floor. The Clarka spent another \$35,140 during their brief tenure in 1979-80, and Trudeau spent public works a further \$11,828 left when he returned. Turner used the residence as a bachelor's quarters and made no changes.

**Amiable** Despite periodic controversies about the costs, there is no "firm policy" about what renovations may be approved, said Nicole Bourque, spokeswoman for the minister's official residence, the public works department. "We just work together with the tenant to come to an amiable agreement on what is needed." Architect Humphreys is sympathetic to the government's predicament. "After all, if the wife of the Prime Minister, of whatever party, calls up and asks for something, it's pretty hard to say no." Moreover, the homes are subjected to heavy traffic. Asks Humphreys: "How long would most homes last if they housed 250 people for six months a week?" The new man and his wife are expected to entertain more frequently than Trudeau did in recent years. "They like sit-down dinners but are also comfortable with large cocktail parties," said a longtime friend.

Before last week's vote, Mulroney had told interviewers that taxpayers would not be asked to pay either for his fee or for his children's nannies. But during his short sojourn at Stormont the Mulroneys spent \$250,500 on decorating and renovations—although only half that sum was at the family's request. To keep costs down, Mrs. Mulroney reportedly scrounged through Montreal's discount shops, until she found a 160-year bolt of 80-year-old cotton that she used in the bedroom and the dining room. The other expenses involved structural refurbishments ordered by the public works department in addition to the \$332,808 the government poured into the residence during Trudeau's 1980 occupancy.



Stormont living room: heavy traffic, frequent changes, a stiff bill

**Impassable** At Stormont, located on a typical Rockcliffe residential street, which Turner will have with former Tory leader Robert Stanfield, donors and ambassadors, the perks and amenities are more modest, with a permanent staff of four, that the state-bedroom, three-story home—where the Dutch royal family resided during the Second World War—still remains an impressive build. Built in 1914 by Ottawa businessman August Major, it was christened Stormont by its second owners, the Perley-Bellevue, after their ancestral home on the Isle of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides. The Turners say half at the unconventional rarity and of the living room walls and the deep, lemon-yellow curtains. For now, a Turner aide suggested last week, the defeated Liberal leader has "lots of other things to do before he turns his mind to redecoration." At 24 Sussex Drive changes are equally inevitable. Perhaps the sole consolation for Canadian taxpayers is that with Mulroney's massive majority, the 126-year-old home will almost undoubtedly have the same tenant for the next four years.

Stormont: The tradition of public housing subsidies is relatively new





# Holiday carnage in a railway station



The carnage after the explosion: passengers, incoherent friends and a corpse are seen before the Pope arrived in Montreal.

Shortly after 10 a.m. on Labor Day, 150 passengers were forming a line before Gate 21 in Montreal's Central Station, waiting to board the 10:35 train to Ottawa. That Via Rail train 21 did not leave on time, and when it did depart, 30 minutes behind schedule, it had only three passengers on board. The reason: at 10:22 a.m. a bomb planted in a bank of lockers about 15 m. from the Ottawa-bound train exploded, killing three tourists from France and injuring 37 others. As weeks went, police continued to search for the bomber—and the motive for the blast—while the city prepared to welcome Pope John Paul II. The pontiff was to arrive by rail at nearby Windsor Station and view at the Bessie Coleman Airshow at Montreal, occupying a second-floor bedroom overlooking Central Station. But Jacques Beaudin, chief of the 1,800-member Quebec Provincial Police (QPP), said that he had decided not to raise security measures. Declared Beaudin: "It is already as tight as it can be."

Still, the bomb-blasted security agencies about security measures at the station itself as Montreal police admitted they knew about a storage locker in Via Rail containing prefabricated violence three days before the explosion occurred. A spokesman for the Montreal Urban Community Police Force said

only that an investigation was under way, while a Canadian National Railway representative said that lockers, which are regularly opened every 24 hours, will now be checked more frequently. And within 11 hours of the explosion, Montreal police had picked up Thomas Brighman, a 65-year-old American Royal World War air force veteran who admitted to a Canadian Press reporter that he sent a letter to Via Rail which contained several anonymous threats against the Pope, with the notation: "9:00 a.m. Sept. 3, 1984." It was one of many similar letters that Brighman sent to newspapers and radio stations during the past three months. But he denied planting the bomb, and the police eventually ruled him out as a suspect. "He wrote the note but it is not the type to do that kind of thing," said one Montreal detective. At the same time, the police continued to bait Brighman as a material witness. Police now believe that the bomb, which killed two men and a woman from Paris, may have consisted of a pipe filled with gunpowder and partially encased with dynamite attached. Declared Const. Charles Poirier: "With the impact it had I think that it would be more than a simple pipe bomb"—which usually includes only gunpowder.

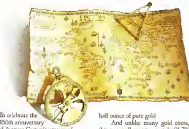
The powerful explosion ripped out-

ward from the baggage lockers, sending a fireball toward the Ottawa-bound travellers, gutting passengers' clothes and shattering the concrete with fragments of plaster, glass and metal. Peter Thoen, an 18-year-old university student from South Truro, N.S., was in the lineup for Gate 21 when the explosion threw him to the floor. "My first thought was that two trains had collided," he said. Thoen suffered only a minor burn on his right hand, and when he realized that a bomb had gone off he stood up and ran for the exit.

Inside the station, thick black smoke and the screams of the injured filled the concourse as rescue workers and police searched frantically through the debris for bodies—and more bombs. One level later police had to evacuate the station when Via Rail received a telephone call from a man who said another bomb was about to go off. It was the first of six bombs thrown onto the station last week, and police nervously then called in bomb threats to Dorval Airport, the Olympic stadium and several bridges and tunnels. Moviegoers have been aware of the elaborate precautions to safeguard the Pope's life, but on the eve of his visit to the city, the bomb and the bomb threats raised even more security for everyone.

—BRUCE WALLACE in Montreal.

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Pope John Paul II was scheduled to begin a 12-day visit in Canada this week with a stopover in Quebec City, where many politicians that usual were expected to be on hand. Among the assembled dignitaries was the now Premier René Lévesque was the man who is soon to relinquish his claim to the throne of the province. The Liberal Leader John Turner, Prime Minister-to-be Brian Mulroney intended to meet Turner in Quebec to discuss the transfer of power but he decided to attend the welcoming ceremony, adding that "one Prime Minister is enough." Mulroney's first official act will be to name a new cabinet. John Paul after he officially becomes Prime Minister later in the week. For their part, Turner and Lévesque were prepared to yield the spotlight to a campaign supporter, a man meant to win the hearts and minds of every-

**P**riest John Paul II was scheduled to begin a 12-day visit in Canada on Sept. 15 with a special focus in Quebec City, where many politicians and priests were expected to be on hand. Among the assembled dignitaries was host Premier René Lévesque was the man who is soon to relinquish his claim to the Prime Minister's Office, Liberal Leader John Turner. But the Pope's visit to the province was not to be. When word came that the Pope would not be in Quebec, Lévesque intended to meet Turner in Quebec to discuss the transfer of power but he decided to attend the welcoming ceremony, adding that "our Prime Minister is enough." Malcom Macdonald, a spokesman for the prime minister, said that he would not meet John Paul after he officially became Prime Minister later in the month. For their part, Turner and Lévesque were prepared to target the spotlight to a campaign supporter, a man poised to win the hearts and minds of every

For the thousands of volunteers, police officers and officials responsible for the safe passage of the Pope across Canada, the pontiff's arrival in Quebec signalled the active phase of a visit that they had planned for over a year. Deshaies was effusive. "It's a little strange, it is not known that we are worried about it, it is heart attacks." But that offhand re-

ence to last week's fatal bomb attack in Montreal's central station masked a concern that prompted police forces to review already elaborate security.

At the close of what chief tax organizer David Knapp described as the biggest television production in world history—a \$10-million effort involving 1,200 CBS field members and 300 color cameras—will be a man of simple tastes, one who likes to read a few and, after prayers, enjoy a hearty breakfast of fried eggs with bacon, ham or Polish sausage. Still, despite his homely image, Pope John Paul II's conservative views on birth control and his demands that priests avoid political activity have angered many Catholic women and a massed opposition within the church.

On the eve of the Pope's first visit to Canada it was the aftermath of a bomb blast that killed three travellers and wounded 47 that was apparent in people's minds. In Ottawa Catholic Archbishop Joseph-Aurille Plourde appeared on television and radio to reassure volunteers doing everything from assisting at mass to setting up streams of the papal visit that they would be safe in doing so. "I don't think that it will be impossible to plant bombs on the grounds and in the buildings the Pope

will visit. People will have nothing to fear."

Indeed, the Pope himself noted the incident that had cast a shadow over his forthcoming tour. In a telegram sent to church officials in Montreal the pontiff offered condolences to the blast victims, adding that he shared "the public's emotion and feelings of indignation at this act of unpardonable violence so detrimental to the peaceful life of the dear citizens of Montreal."

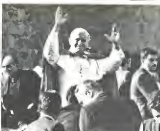
The Pope had more messages to deliver on the eve of his departure, warning an assembly of pilgrims in St. Peter's Square in Rome—and all Catholics—against the casual use of natural family planning. More commonly known as the rhythm method of birth control and the only form of contraception that has won some acceptance from the Vatican, it is based on sexual abstinence during

woman's fertile periods. Declared the Pope, "The use of infertile periods in married life can become a source of abuse if the couple seeks in such a way to avoid, without just reasons, procreation below the morally correct level of births for their family." The papist stressed that the 1968 papal encyclical, *Humanae Vitae*, which banned artificial birth control, was not intended to give couples the right to "choose when to have children."

which Catholics routinely practise birth control: "In no way was [the encyclical] unilaterally aimed at limiting or even excluding offspring. It signifies the willingness to accept *semper numerosa offspring*."

Another papal stand which is almost certain to irritate liberal Catholics is the Vatican's renewed campaign against liberation theology, a blend of Catholicism and Marxism favored by many activist priests, particularly in Latin America, who are strongly opposed to social and economic repression. Last week the influential Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith declared

Christians should not rely on Marxist analysis. The congregation, headed by a conservative, Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, argued that liberation theology, born in Latin America in the 1960s, had led to a "disastrous confusion between the poor of Scripture and the proletarians of Marx." As well, Karl Marx's notion of material class struggle was anathema to Christian teaching, the conservatives



Pope John Paul II: human qualities and controversial messages

said, adding that Christians were morally obliged to help eliminate evil social structures, but prohibited from engaging in class warfare.

The Vatican's hard line against the libertarians has drawn criticism from Catholic scholars, including the University of Toronto's Gregory Baum—even though Baum has argued that John Paul II is not an authoritarian.

posed to liberate theology as highly placed Vatican officials. Yet last month the Pope himself threw doubt on that interpretation when he warned African bishops against adopting a notion of Jesus Christ as "a political activist, a fighter against Roman domination and the authorities, and even as someone involved in the class struggle."

Against that background, the audacious cross-country tour that will take the Pope joining Canadian Armed Forces Boeing 707 from a Newfoundland affiliate to a Vancouver park promises to provoke curiosity, controversy and, we all, the Pope's presence to arouse a new sense of the millions who will see a Saint Bishop John Sheridan, *of the Canadian Catholic Bishops*: "A lot of Catholics like a fire; that has a little breath of the Spirit to burn away."

—SUSAN BOLLY in *Chicago*.[illegible]

# Mondale's victory blueprint

It should have been the resounding kickoff to Walter Mondale's presidential campaign—the traditional Labor Day parade through Manhattan's streets. But with a cross-country swing to California about to begin, Mondale—and vice-presidential running mate Geraldine Ferraro—had to leave before most of the spectators arrived, although not before one TV crew caught some wounding footage of them waving to all-star, noisy streets.

The Democrats' stumbling campaign kickoff contrasted sharply with President Ronald Reagan's California launch of his own re-election effort last week, without naming his Democratic opponent. Reagan distanced them as politicians who view life "darkly through the prism of the past." The result: a hands-down Reagan victory in the first of the 63 daily "swing states" that the two candidates will wage between Labor Day and Nov. 6.

By midweek Mondale rebounded, hitting hard at Reagan's tax policies, arms control proposals, and huge budget deficits. Dropping his stiff, button-down manner, Mondale told union members in a Los Angeles suburb that if Reagan is re-elected, "the rich will get richer and the average American will get poorer." That sort of gloves-off ferocity was exactly what many of Mondale's strongest supporters wanted to hear last week. Frustrated by the message's media stars, California Representative Tony Coelho declared that Mondale "has to show the American public that he has fire in his belly, that he's willing to lead."

Judging by last week's impassioned rhetoric, Mondale intends to do just that. From Los Angeles to Washington, the former vice-president hammered at Reagan's descriptions of politics and religion as "irresponsible." This view, he said, "will corrupt our faith and divide our nation." Struck by the attack, Reagan dined—in an exchange of letters with television producer Norman Lear—that he was using the presidency

to promote "new religions over all others."

Reagan is extremely enjoying a commanding 59- to 46-point lead over his Democratic challenger in public opinion



Ferraro and Mondale in New York: standing still

surveys. And for Mondale, who is still trying to overcome a negative image as Jimmy Carter's vice-president, that advantage represents a formidable obstacle. As well, the Democrats have still not stretched out a unifying theme for their campaign. Instead, they plan to stress "issues" against a presidential increasingly skilled at television and content to stick to unglamorous generalities.

Mondale's political deficit is even

worse than the polls show. Victory is ultimately determined by the electoral college votes of individual states. And Reagan's lead in the South and West is now so secure that his campaign can

focus on smothering Mondale's own regional strengths: blue-collar workers, Catholics and unionists in the Northeast and Midwest. In Texas, a crucial "swing state," with 29 of the 270 electoral votes Mondale is relying on to secure re-election drives and large voter turnouts to make up a 50-point deficit. In California, where he trails by 18 per cent, Mondale cites are counting on a revival of enthusiasm for Ferraro to close the gap by November.

Adding key swing states, Mondale's 46- to 50-per-cent lead among blacks may be offset by Reagan's sizable edge among whites. At the same time, although Mondale now captures about half of all women's votes, even fewer Reagan by more than 60 per cent—a "gender gap" deepened by Reagan's commitment to continued arms spending and renewed strength. Mondale's best chance of victory may lie in his ability to arouse voters' suspicions about the "business" of the economic recovery and their fears about the future of the service sector and Central America.

To win in November, Mondale will have to restore the old Democratic coalition, consisting of blacks, blacks, Hispanics and Jews. That would require a swath of states from New England and New York westward through the industrial "rust belt." Discontent among farmers could also bring the Midwest into Mondale's column.

However, Washington and Oregon, in addition to two or three southern states, might then put Mondale within reach of the electoral votes needed to win the White House. Still, most analysts agree that such an accomplishment would be little short of a political miracle, and with election day just eight weeks away, the challenger has no time to waste and little room for error.

—LENN GUYON in New York

## What will you be driving when Canada runs out of oil?



**The Answer:** It all depends, but at the rate we're going it'll be a 1996 Ford, or Buick, or Toyota, or whatever.

Never mind the car model or make, in 12 short years our known reserves of conventional oil will run dry if we keep pumping it out of the ground at the current rate without adding any major new reserves.

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This leaves us with a choice between increased reliance on costly foreign oil and the continued development of traditional reserves, the oil sands, and other frontiers.

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## Bowing to Moscow's line

West East German leader Erich Honecker agreed to pay a five-week visit to West Germany next week also, the response of his Soviet ally was uncompromising. Moscow insisted its cooperation with an easy propaganda campaign against Honecker's hosts in Bonn of trying to undermine East Germany's status as a loyal member of the Communist Bloc. In private exchanges the Kremlin was equally firm. At first, Honecker, the presser, stressing the need for East-West contact during a period of super-power tensions. Then, last week he surrendered to the Soviet spin. East Germany's permanent representative in Bonn, Ewald Meißel, announced that the timing of the visit, scheduled for Sept. 26 to 28, was "no longer realistic."

Moskva blamed the cancellations on "an unreasonably and detrimental" controversy in West Germany about the visit. The East German news agency later cited a remark last month by the parliamentarian leader of Helmut Kohl's Christian Democratic that West Germany's future did not "depend on whether Honecker pays us the honor of a visit." And the right-wing press in West Germany had printed a series of articles denouncing Honecker. But observers in Bonn were adamant that the decision was "made in Moscow." Commented one senior Western diplomat: "The reality is that Big Brother said, 'Don't!'"

Indeed, the Kremlin has grown increasingly assertive in the past year as a warming trend developed in relations between the two Germanys. In return for West German loan guarantees and credits totaling \$750 million (U.S.), East Berlin has removed many of the 10,000 lethal automatic weapons firing devices that were positioned along the frontier to deter Germans from trying to flee to the West. It has also allowed the emigration of 37,000 East German refugees, compared with only 5,000 in 1981. Both Bonn and East Berlin intended Honecker's visit to lead to further commercial and human contacts. Draft communications had already been exchanged.

But their plans only approximated reality. In the Soviet leadership of a resurgence of German militarism. Some Kremlin hard-liners even accused the Kohl government of seeking to reverse the postwar division of Germany. As well, Western experts contended that Moscow was unwilling to let Bonn and East Germany attempt to proceed while relations with Washington remain icy.

Still, Western observers in Moscow said that almost until the last moment, the Soviet leadership was divided on whether to allow the Honecker trip to proceed. They noted that while the Communist Party newspaper Pravda had launched a tirade of criticism against East Germany, the government newspaper Izvestia had defended Honecker's policy of dialogue with the West as beneficial to both sides. And last month even



Honecker: approximating old Soviet fears

Pravda carried an article by Gennadiy Antonov, director of the Institute for the Study of the United States and Canada, declaring the absence of dialogue between East and West.

The internal rift may have widened during the two-month absence from public life of Soviet leader Konstantin Chernenko, 72, who finally resigned on Sept. 5 in a ceremony to honor Soviet conservatism. A senior government spokesman in Bonn and last week that Chernenko had personally given Honecker the go-ahead for his visit last June. But diplomats said that in a heated Kremlin debate the hard-line views of Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko had pre-

valued. Gromyko was widely believed to be the main architect of the Soviet Union's current refusal to resume East-West arms control talks in Geneva.

Recently when the Soviets decided to veto the trip was unclear. Honecker's four last week of the West German exhibit at the Leipzig Trade Fair lasted only two minutes—a clear signal that the itinerary was no property. But Moscow also appeared to be annoyed by Kohl's Sept. 2 address to a meeting of German refugees from the Soviet Bloc. There, the chancellor stated that the two Germanys could "make a decisive contribution to stability in Europe." The Soviet media responded by reinforcing their attacks as flimsy.

For Kohl, the cancellations in a severe embarrassment. He had counted on the visit to distract attention from current internal strains over domestic issues in his centre-right coalition. Kohl stated last week that contacts with Berlin will continue. On a visit to Moscow, Kohl said, "I am not a Kremlin sympathizer and have no wish to be one." But he added that ongoing relations between Berlin and Bonn would not be affected by postponement of the Honecker trip. The continuation of the dialogue," the chancellor said, "is, in view of the tense atmosphere between the superpowers, an important contribution."

For its part, the East German press also tried to maximize the impact of the Soviet verdict. The Communist Party newspaper, Neues Deutschland, quoted Jo Leinen, leader of West Germany's peace movement, as suggesting that Honecker wanted to reach out to the west as soon as possible—an opinion not shared by diplomats in Bonn. Other articles questioned current West German cultural and political meetings with Soviet Bloc figures—as if to stress the normalcy of European dialogue.

Still, Kohl's disappointment may be alleviated somewhat by visits later this month by Bulgarian leader Todor Zhivkov and by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu in October. Bonn government officials expect both to go ahead because, as one said last week: "These visits are of a different character. They are in particularly sensitive when it has to deal with inter-German relations."

But for Honecker, Moscow's wound imposed humiliation in as many months as clearly painful. His acquiescence in the Soviet-led boycott of the Summer Olympic Games was a bitter disappointment to the post-war German East Germany. Now, his agreement to abort the Bonn visit, which the East German public heartily approved, raises further doubts about his ability to act independently from Moscow. And a Western diplomat in Bonn: "He's been put as his place all round."

—DOUG NORMAN in London

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Killing blacks in Johannesburg—poverty, murder at random, and demands to be heard

## SOUTH AFRICA

### The siege of Sharpeville

Among the seething black communities that ring Johannesburg, the satellite city of 34 people has special significance for South Africa's 33 million blacks. In 1966 police fired as a group of anti-apartheid demonstrators there, killing 30 people. The incident became an indelible symbol of resistance to the nation's white-controlled government. Last week violence again rocked the dusty shantytown of 6,000 impoverished black residents, triggered by a town council decision to raise rents on government-owned houses by nine per cent, halving the local deputy black mayor and locked him to death. Then, in three days of furious rioting, arson and looting, 30 people died. As one point the looting spread to the nearby black townships of Soweto and Bantola before white police restored order by using tear gas, rubber bullets and even whips.

The riots were South Africa's worst outbreak of violence since unrest in the sprawling Johannesburg township of Soweto claimed 358 lives in 1976. Black leaders last week blamed the disturbances as a buildup of political frustration. Rev. Desmond Tutu, who negotiated a ceasefire between rioting blacks and white police, declared "The next movement will be the last street. The whole system of government has become unbearable for people." The rioting coincided with the introduction of a controversial new constitution by the government of South African Prime Minister P. W. Botha. The document offers limited political representation to South Africa's blacks, or people of mixed race, and Indians. But it ignores the nation's black community, which constitutes 70 per cent of the population. Last week colored and Indian members of separate new houses of parliament met for the first time, electing Botha to the powerful new position of executive state president. However, the new chambers do not enjoy the support of the newly enfranchised communities. Most blacks and Indians have sided with blacks in branding the parliamentarians "collaborationists" in apartheid.

Observers predicted that the tragedy in Sharpeville will spread beyond South Africa's strictly controlled black communities. Indeed, a powerful bomb last week wrecked an electrical substation in the western Transvaal, cutting power and trapping hundreds of miners Spentime for the outcasted African National Congress claimed responsibility. Botha's officials have agreed to meet with black leaders from Sharpeville to hear their grievances. But Western observers expected the government to respond with a crackdown on anti-apartheid activists, giving new momentum to the enduring wishes of Sharpeville.

—ALISTAIR SPENCE in Johannesburg

## ISRAEL

### A shared bid to ease a crisis

Jerusalem was moved out of its isolation. After nearly two months of delicate negotiations, Israel last week ended a political impasse that had paralyzed the state. Leaders of the two main political parties, Labor's Shimon Peres and Likud's Yitzhak Shamir, agreed to form a government of national unity. If supporters approve it this week, the hard-core pact may permit Jerusalem to begin wrestling with two persistent problems: inflation and the military stalemate in Lebanon.

The accord was widely denounced by extremists of both the left and the right. The Israelis left regards the settlements as an obstacle to peace with Israel's Arab neighbors, while the right considers an agreement on the expansion of those settlements to be an infringement of Israeli sovereignty. Not the pact, order which first Peres and then Shamir will move as prime minister, was the only real option available. With an unprecedented 18 parties gaining representation in the 120-member Knesset, neither Labor (54 seats) nor Likud (51 seats) was able to strike together a governing coalition after the July 28 elections. And neither leader wanted to fight a new election.

Still, several obstacles remained in the way of the accord's full implementation—especially a disagreement over how to share cabinet power. Labor's deputy leader, Yitzhak Rabin, will hold the critical defense portfolio, while Likud's Yoram Arlosoroff will assume command of the political hot seat—the treasury. The controversial former defense minister, Ariel Sharon, will likely be named to the trade and industry post. But the two-member National Religious Party, an influential force in the former Likud administration, is demanding its own cabinet representation, which could tilt the cabinet balance in Likud's favor. One possible solution: an inner cabinet of 30 ministers, five from each party, and a larger, less powerful political grouping to reward the party government's supporters.

Despite the remaining hurdles, Israel's future clearly depends on the agreement. Four-hundred-per-cent inflation and the disintegrating military situation in southern Lebanon have eroded the nation's morale. Now, with their differences apparently resolved, Peres and Shamir can begin to repair Israel's damaged economic and social structure. Declared the Jerusalem Post: "One can almost make a virtue out of necessity."

—DAVID BARVARTEN in Jerusalem



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#### CHILE

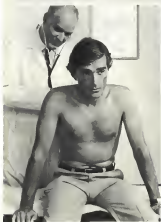
### Marching to an angry showdown

Chile's Gen. Augusto Pinochet this week celebrates his 21st anniversary in power. But if the events of last week are any barometer of the regime's popularity, the celebrations are likely to be marred—and punctuated with violence. In a massive display of opposition to Pinochet's hard-line military government, thousands of protesters swarmed through the streets of Santiago in demonstrations throughout the week. Police responded with baton charges and live ammunition. In repeated confrontations, members of the congressional or national police, dubbed demonstrators and foreign journalists. On several occasions, eyewitnesses reported, police poured into Santiago's narrow alleyways firing indiscriminately at gun levels at random. The running clashes caused nine deaths in two of the worst days of street violence since Pinochet seized power in 1973.

In the most controversial incident, police fired on protesters in the Santiago shantytown of La Victoria. A French priest, Rev. Andre Jurin, 48, was later found dead in a nearby house, slumped over his Bible with two bullet wounds in his chest. There is no conclusive evidence that the national police shot Jurin, either intentionally or accidentally. But the incident shocked both Chilean oppositionists and members of the clergy. In an official statement following Jurin's death last week, Chile's bishops called the growing violence "a holocaust." Address the subject "Was a sure, efficient and just investigation establish the truth and punish the guilty."

The Aerles tragedy refocused attention on the growing friction between the Roman Catholic Church and the Pinochet regime. Recently, the priests have expelled Irish and Australian priests for what it charged was their unwarranted political interference. And Pinochet has been particularly angered by the activities of a special church-sponsored human rights agency, the Vicariate of Solidarity. The 68-year-old general recently labeled the Vicariate "more Communist than the Communists." The agency has gathered statistics on alleged human rights abuses and sent its officers, according to Pinochet's order, to a military during wars. During last week's confrontations police entered the office for the first time and clubbed demonstrators taking them. That bold affront—and Pinochet's repeated vow not to restore civilian rule in 1989—seemed to be a dark signal of the troubles ahead. —JAMES MITCHELL

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## An old enemy comes to call

**B**y any measure it was a historic encounter—a formal meeting between leaders of old enemies with long memories in search of new alliances. The visitor was South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan, and his official host was Japan's aging emperor, Emperor Hirohito. During a brief private audience with the 80-year-old emperor in the bamboo room of the Japanese Imperial Palace, Hirohito expressed his personal regrets for Japan's harsh colonization of Korea from 1910 to 1945. Later, at a state banquet the emperor offered a public apology: "It is indeed regrettable that there was an unfortunate past between us for a period in this century," said Hirohito. "I believe that it should not happen again."

Even that discreet understatement constituted an important posture. South Korea had demanded no such an apology as a prelude to resumed relations. Evidently satisfied, Chun then adopted the same polite tone as his host, replying that Korean-Japanese equity would float away "on the raft of history." Still,



Hirohito (right) honoring Chun in Tokyo, a prelude to improved relations

for the two nations—separated by just 64 km of water but a vast legacy of distrust—last week's visit was marked by tension and controversy on both sides. During his three-day stay in Tokyo, Chun was guarded by roughly 20,000 police in the most elaborate security operation for a visiting leader ever mounted in Japan. The precautions, which caused virtual paralysis in large sections of Tokyo, followed last year's

bank attack engineered by Communist North Korea in Nagasaki, which killed four of Chun's cabinet ministers. The reaction to the visit itself by Koreans and Japanese was equally intense. In Seoul angry demonstrations denounced Chun's journey as "sell-out diplomacy." South Koreans still harbor deep-seated resentment about the colonial era, when Koreans were forced to adopt Japanese names and speak the Japanese language. Last week Korean security agents guarding Chun prechecked the personal histories of Japanese police working inside Tokyo's Imperial Palace. For their part, Japanese officials have condemned Chun as a dictator, while right-wing militarists in Tokyo cheered that Japan should take pride in its imperial past.

Still, political leaders in both countries are eager to improve relations. South Korea, undergoing a fervent industrialization program, requires more access to both high technology and lucrative Japanese markets. Chun has also requested better living conditions for 500,000 ethnic Koreans living in Japan, direct descendants of the original colonial slave labor force. Since 1945 Koreans in Japan are legally second-class citizens, unable to attend the best schools, occupy senior positions in major Japanese corporations or earn equivalent salaries.

Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's own agenda is topped by a concern to maintain stability on the Korean peninsula, the overgrown pivot of Japanese security. But Japan's peaceful constitution rules out military alliances. For now, neither Chun nor Nakasone are likely to peak rapprochement with both peoples are prepared to reconcile themselves to what Hirohito once called "a period of unfortunate events." —PETER McGUIRE in Tokyo

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# Bidding for Eurobond billions

By Lenny Glynn

**I**t is a massive, unregulated securities bazaar, where a telephone-linked network of dealers fills the borrowing needs of corporations and governments with the funds of wealthy investors. It is efficient, its funds are a bottomless reservoir and its tentacles stretch into financial operations around the world. But now the London-based

game rivals which have long taken the lion's share of Eurobond business. Already, Morgan Stanley & Co. and other New York investment houses are aggressively selling European investors on the virtues of the newly approved U.S. securities. Major European banks, too, are poised to fight for their share of what could be as much as \$50 billion in new foreign purchases of U.S. corporate and government bonds. But

without sharing the proceeds with their governments. Banks and other financial institutions involved in the Eurobond market operate free of any national regulations or restrictions on their lending. As a result, borrowing on the Eurobond market is generally cheaper.

But the treasury department's decision to drop the withholding tax, which held back 30 per cent of foreign investors' interest earnings until income tax time, has made government bond issues much more desirable. One of Congress's main reasons for dropping the withholding income was to facilitate the financing of the government's budget deficits. That objective overrode concerns that some U.S. citizens might dodge taxes by investing through foreign intermediaries.

By selling the new bonds, U.S. investment houses hope to increase their presence in the Eurobond market and attract a greater share of investors' funds to New York. But Adrian White, the Bank of Montreal's Toronto-based vice-president in charge of capital funding, for one, estimates that Europe's bond markets will remain viable despite the recent U.S. moves. Stud White "It's not going to change the markets or volumes very much. There is not going to be a stagnating move to New York." For one thing, he said, geography is a factor in Europe's favor. Much of the funds being raised out in Europe currently come from Japan, while the borrowers are halfway around the world and numerous time zones away in North America. London, White said, "is a happy place to start." As well, White argued, while the United States has eased regulations, a great deal of corporations that fast money in New York will still have to go through the costly and lengthy procedures of registering with the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission.

Most experts said that the new U.S. rules will result in a vast new flow of funds to finance American debt paper. But the United States is already digging heavily into foreign capital. By 1985, Federal Reserve Board chairman Paul Volcker has predicted, the United States could become a net creditor instead of a net debtor for the first time since the First World War. The effects of that shift would be profound. Like Russia's default in a 1970s Soviet loan, an indebted United States would find itself relying "on the kindness of strangers."

The huge, lightly regulated Eurobond market has grown up over the past two decades precisely because the securities issued on it were mainly anonymous and tax-free. That makes many bond holders—from tax-shy French buyers to wary Argentine math barons—to clip their interest coupons and hand them over in return for interest owed them.



Many Lynch bond traders in London. U.S. brokers want to grab the European market.

Eurobond markets is being for the impact of two major decisions by the U.S. government. For one thing, Congress decided last month to remove a 30-per-cent withholding tax on the interest earnings of foreign investors in U.S. bonds. For another, last week the U.S. treasury clarified new rules that allow U.S. corporations to issue anonymous "bearer" bonds to foreigners. The sale of the new bonds they do not require ownership registration—whenever bonds are sold there—and that makes them attractive for income tax avoidance. These actions are almost certain to ignite a struggle in the bond market between U.S. investment banks and Euro-

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# A program for survival

By James Fleming

**H**is business is selling computer software and the decisions facing Tyson (Toronto) Williams are difficult ones. The 43-year-old president of Sydney Development Corp. is grappling with a survival program for his Vancouver-based company, a high-profile performer in Canada's tumultuous software industry. His is a marketing challenge common to the 1,200-company Canadian business that dreamt up new ways of selling computers and then users how to play videogames, compute financial records or take other electronic shortcuts in handling information, calculation and communication. Williams is involved in a roller-coaster business that holds the promise of healthy profits and devastating losses. And a collapse of Canadian software companies would tend to leave the high-tech field mainly to large U.S. firms. For computer users, it would diminish competition and choice.

Since Williams founded Sydney in 1978 as the country's first publicly owned developer, marketer and publisher of software, the company has experienced both rapid expansion and trou-



Williams upheaval in a \$7-billion market

bling losses. Last week Sydney announced a loss of \$1.5 million in the April to June quarter after losing \$167 million last year. "Our biggest mistake has been misjudging the markets," the soft-spoken Williams conceded. "We thought they would be bigger and easier to penetrate." Now, he adds confidently, "We're beginning to sell our products."

Sydney Development's precarious financial state, after a heady six years of growth, illustrates the problems small-firm face in North America's fiercely competitive \$2.5 billion market for computer software. Ranked No. 1 in a July survey of Canada's 60 fastest-growing companies, Sydney has raised almost \$30 million in capital from investors and banks in its short life, developed or acquired 70 different software products, bought nine subsidiaries and opened 13 branches in the United States, Britain and Canada. The firm has been especially resourceful in raising money.

In 1981 Williams pioneered a unique tax-writoff scheme under which investors were offered limited research and development partnerships in the company. For each \$10,000 invested, the partner-investor could claim a \$5,000 tax writoff. But, as Williams says now, nearly all the money was poured into the development of new products, not their marketing. Sydney's experience has

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# Moderation in defence of freedom

By Peter C. Newman

**D**ispirited by Pierre Trudeau's 16-year attempt to transform Canada into a system of government roughly paralleling France's Third Republic, many Canadians may be tempted to dismiss last week's dramatic turn-around outcome with Howard Klein's quip that elections tend merely to "exchange one nuisance for another." That would not only be simplistic in the extreme, it would be wrong.

Quite apart from the massive reengineering of political forces involved, the economic fallout from Brian Mulroney's stunning victory is about to transform the Canadian business climate.

During the campaign nearly all of the emphasis was on unemployment, and how to cure it. The problem is that the public sector is severely limited in how much it can contribute. The sad fact is that the Canadian economy is suffering from structural flaws no longer susceptible to such simple palliatives as subsidies for failing industries or tax incentives designed to encourage corporate transfers to underdeveloped regions.

The Mulroney approach, being debated among the members of his transition team, calls for a totally different and much longer-term set of initiatives.

The first and in many ways most important of these is to accelerate the process of deregulation begun by the Liberals in the airline industry. Communications is next, but many other fields will follow. The theory here is that while government protection against untold competition may be useful in helping industries to establish themselves in the first place, the market must be the final arbiter.

Michael Wilson, almost certain to be named minister of finance, has spent much time in Washington and at several U.S. universities studying the effects of similar deregulation moves. He is satisfied that the overall results are worth the pain of transition.

There is also the championing of what he calls "quasi-private economies." What this means is defusing the arbitrary powers of politicians and senior civil servants in deciding which companies, which individuals and which regions should benefit from injections of government funds instead of pursuing its salvage dollars or even creating tax incentives that require guarantees of paperwork to start out, Wilson believes the way to go is to forest a series of rolling partnerships between the private and

public sectors. This will take the form of jointly guaranteed bank loans for a host of intensive capital investment.

The great advantage would be that instead of shovelling out open-ended largesse, recipient individuals and companies would have to invest a significant proportion of their own money, by helping to guarantee part of the equity. Ottawa would make plant expansion (and eventual job creation) a lot easier. The deterrent of having one's own funds



Mulroney, consensus in every move

on the line would impose discipline.

Another improvement, especially at a time when patronage has become such a universally despised concept, is that instead of favours being picked on the basis of their past or future partisan considerations, the loan guarantees would be distributed to Canada's threatened banks. For the first time since Confederation, federal funds would be doled out through a politically neutral delivery system.

In every move that the new Mulroney government makes, the emphasis will be on consensus. Mulroney is well aware that there were two parallel emotions

that allowed him to win such an unprecedented mandate from the Canadian people: their determination to dethrone a (Liberal) government that had grown fat and corrupt, and their hope that its successor would defuse the endless round of contradictions that characterized the Trudeau militancy.

His economic policies will favor free enterprise, a great deal more openly than those of the Trademans. But he will not dismantle such essential public instruments as Petro-Canada or the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. Canadian and de Havilland are a different problem. The Tories would love to spin them off, but it is difficult to imagine why any sane businessman would take them off the government's hands.

Because they become such high-profile symbols of the Trudeau government's nationalization efforts, the first two targets of the PCs will be the National Energy Program and the Foreign Investment Review Agency. Once again, Mulroney will set out to prove that an extension in the defence of liberty is not a virtue. Both of these controversial programs will survive, though in very different form.

PCs will be downgraded to something of a monitoring device, with cabinet ministers pressured to act against abuses by outside reviewers. This will be especially true in areas where some measure of democratic ownership is considered essential to the Canadian future. The war will be softened by removal of the 15-per-cent back-to-government rule.

No matter how much they want to reform the tax system, Mulroney and his ministers are stymied by the incontestable fact that less than 15 per cent of the federal budget consists of discretionary items that can be affected by any government. The balance is already committed for long-term expenditures, mainly the universal social welfare programs that Mulroney pledged not to water down.

The Conservative administration's prime assignment will be to expand this discretionary margin.

During his lifetime in politics Brian Mulroney has watched the Diefenbaker government fumble its way out of power by losing administrative control over its day-to-day operations and the Clark government founder in a mixture of ineptitude and contradictions.

Like all democratic administrations, Mulroney will eventually be defeated. But he has no intention of committing political hara-kiri.



# Diet Quiz

Which has more calories (and alcohol):

1. ☐ 5 oz. white wine?
2. ☐ 5 oz. Bacardi rum & diet cola?  
(1 oz. Bacardi, 4 oz. diet cola)



An average 5 oz. serving of white wine with an alcohol content of 12% and sugar level of 2 g./100 ml contains 110 calories.

A drink made with 1 oz. of Bacardi rum and 4 oz. of diet cola has only 63 calories and its alcohol content is just 8%. So if you choose Bacardi rum and diet cola you're ahead.

Bacardi rum. Enjoy it in moderation.

Data based on Association of Official Analytical Chemists



UNC's Concerned Academics: the students face an instant course in the often unpleasant culture of university life itself

#### UNIVERSITIES

## Hard times in an age of uncertainty

By Jane O'Hara

Many of the 400,000 students who arrived at Canada's 11 universities last week will not find their first lesson in any textbook. Instead, they face an instant course in the often unpleasant nature of university life itself. Classrooms are critically overcrowded, buildings need repair, libraries sagging is obsolete. In libraries are understaffed, bookshelves are overworked and academic standards have plummeted. And, worse, after almost three decades of unparalleled expansion in which almost every high school graduate with a 60-per-cent average could enter most universities, provincial governments, which have seen the nationwide cost of education rise to \$6.2 billion this year, from \$15 million in 1964, have made it clear that the universities must continue making severe cutbacks in almost every aspect of their operation.

Fears that Canada is headed toward a national educational catastrophe are underlined in the recently published *The Great Strain* doleby, by Canadian academics David Berenson, Robert Rothwell and J.L. Grossman. The se-

vere maintain that Canadian universities took the wrong path in the 1960s and 1970s when they became accessible to almost everyone, and have since become little more than "educational supermarkets, growing for government grants, selling their souls in return for public approval and simultaneously selling the

*Should universities be all things to all people or should they be centres of excellence for the few?*

value of a higher education for a song." But other educators disagree. Raul Padura Merck, University of British Columbia (UBC) sociology professor and a member of UBC's Committee of Concerned Academics—which has been strongly critical of government cutbacks against universities. "The notion of elitism is absurd. You cannot run an industrial economy without a well-educated population." Unquestionably, the concept of universal accessibility to uni-

versities is in peril. The problem, too many students and too little public money to give them all a quality education.

The answer, for many universities, is to pare down the student population by severely limiting enrollment in many faculties and to raise tuition fees this year by as much as 30 per cent. Critics of those policies argue that they will cause a return to elitism in higher learning, that only the richest and the brightest will go on to university. Others argue that although the lower university system will accommodate fewer students, it will at least ensure that they will receive a diploma of high value. The debate will likely continue for some time, but one thing is clear: Canada's universities are in transition. Raul George Padura, president of the 36,000-student University of British Columbia: "There is no question that we are moving to a smaller system."

At campuses across the country the effects of government cutbacks have become increasingly visible. Facing faculty layoffs, higher tuition and onerous standards, and some program cuts. The University of Manitoba (U of M), the oldest centre of higher learning in Western Canada, has eliminated 200 full-



Students registering at Dalhousie: severe cutbacks in almost every aspect of the academic operation will continue

part-time jobs in the past fiscal year. As well, for the first time in its 107-year history the U of M has begun restricting enrolments in the faculties of science, agriculture and human ecology. Last year the faculty of science accepted 1,800 high school graduates with 50-per-cent averages. This year only 1,500, with at least a 60-per-cent average, have been able to enroll.

In Ontario, which spends \$1.3 billion on university operations—the least per student of any province—government spending has gone down in real terms to 45 per cent of the government budget this year from 64 per cent in 1970. Yet enrolment since 1970 has risen by 40 per cent. A provincially appointed commission on the future development of the universities of Ontario is travelling the province holding hearings among business and industry leaders to find ways to cut waste and pare down Ontario's 18 universities. At the University of Victoria on Vancouver Island, administrators have cut costs by 22 per cent since the B.C. government cut the university's operating grant by five per cent—\$2,885,000—this year. Severe faculty and 30 administrative and support positions have been eliminated.

Montreal's Concordia University, which has a \$6-million deficit, is another troubled university in a province that has had a 30-per-cent increase in enrollment in the past five years without a parallel increase in funding. Everything from maintenance work to the purchase

of specialized library books has suffered. Concordia students must now pay for almost everything. There are fees for course materials and for dropping out of courses. In another penny-grabbing measure, even the traditional fall convocations have been dropped. Raul Graham Martin, Concordia's vice-rector in charge of administration and finance: "The windows get washed once a year instead of three or four times, the buildings look shabby, the images for computer time are longer. The only way we have coped is with big scholarships." Added Robert Stophane, executive director of the Fédération des Associations de Professeurs des Universités du Québec, a group representing 3,500 university and college teachers: "Classrooms are so overloaded that in some cases we have kids sitting on windowsills. I think this shows that higher education has become less and less important to the government."

For some students, rising tuition costs are a formidable hurdle after they have scaled the walls of ever-higher entrance standards. In Nova Scotia, it used to be comparatively easy for high school graduates from all income groups to attend university. Dalhousie, in Halifax, catered to the poor country agrarians from Pictou, and St. Francis Xavier, in Antigonish, to the low-income farm children of eastern Nova Scotia. But now Nova Scotia's 30,000 students are faced with the highest tuition costs in the country. Five years ago, the annual

tuition fee for Dalhousie's arts and sciences program was \$896. Now it is \$1,616. The Nova Scotia government received 10,500 applications for student loans last year compared to 9,965 in 1980-81. In British Columbia, where the Social Credit government's restraint program eliminated the student grant program, tuition increases this year range from 24 per cent at Simon Fraser University to 33 per cent at the University of British Columbia, where a first-year arts student studies pays \$1,352.

Out-of-town students in British Columbia who are forced to leave money for both fees and board could find themselves as much as \$28,000 in debt after a four-year arts program. Some educators suggest that students from lower-income families are unlikely to borrow large sums. Gordon Rasmussen, a professor of economics at UBC, believes that students should provide loans to needy students, who would pay them back at a rate based on their income when they start working. But Rasmussen: "There should be some mechanism for keeping the system free."

For Maria Soke, 24, from Burnaby, B.C., a first-year commerce student at UBC, borrowing \$2,400 was the only way she could afford to go to university. Although she earned \$1,200 this summer as a clerk in a dry-cleaning store, that will barely cover her tuition. Soke estimates she will owe about \$24,000 to the provincial government before she graduates. Although the loan is inter-

est-free until six months after graduation, who is surprised about how well it paid back of the career field a job. Said Becker: "Getting into university is one thing, but the tough part begins when I hit the job market. Right now it looks tight and I wonder what will be out there for me when it's over."

While most universities are struggling under the weight of reduced government funding, there are some exceptions. In Alberta, student populations have grown steadily, although gradually, over the past decade. Alberta's three major universities, the University of Alberta, the University of Calgary (U of C) and the University of Lethbridge had

range from \$40,000 to \$160,000. The U of C introduced a system of "academic control and allocation." When a staff position becomes vacant because of retirement, resignation or death, administrators do not necessarily fill it at all. If they do, it might be with a lower-ranking and less well-paid professor, or with part-time instructors. Unlike the government of British Columbia, which last year tried to cut its budget by legislating an end to tenure—the traditional career-long job security contract with a university with almost no checks and balances—the U of C merely kept its teaching staff under careful scrutiny. Said Basso: "We have

very soon. Something has to be done, but in Canada new provinces cannot go it alone."

There are other problems with tenure which have given universities for the future of universities in Canada. According to a January, 1984, report, *Some Questions of Reform*, commissioned by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, tenured positions block young, eager academics from getting jobs. Said Juan Rojas, 58, a professor of anthropology at the University of Calgary: "Everyone in my department is over 50 and we are not getting any new blood. I like to think that I know it, but I know I am not in the 30-year-old mode."



Graduate students in U of T lab "educational experiments" is, proving for government grants and selling their souls?

a total of 39,887 students in 1976 compared with 38,000 that year. And the provincial government has not cut back operating revenues. In 1975, the University of Calgary had a budget of \$47 million compared to \$122 million in 1983. Although inflation is still eroding funding grants, the U of C's Sheppard Braun, director of the Office of Institutional Analysis, said that the university adopted a policy of "judicious growth" in 1978.

For one thing, the U of C dealt with the sensitive issue of faculty salaries, which account for about 48 per cent of the total operating expenses of most of the nation's universities. (Professors' salaries vary across the country and

have been cautious about increasing our staff. We faced the problem much earlier than they did in British Columbia and we took direct action to control the salary component."

Across Canada, tenure is being rethought in an attempt to keep down rising costs. But it is a highly emotional issue and one that strikes fear into the heart of the academic community. When British Columbia attempted to legislate it out of existence with the Public Sector Restructuring Act, there were cries of shock and outrage from international faculty associations, and both the government and the university backed off. But according to U of C's Becker: "Tenure is a big issue that is going to come to the fore

The decline age of Canada's faculty is now at. As that middle-aged group moves through the system, the costs per university teacher escalate rapidly. This means that, were it of the universities' budgets goes to look for a solution. Academic salaries, leaving less for laboratory equipment, books, students and living more faculty members who may be more comfortable with changing patterns in job-related course curricula, particularly in the sciences. Across the country universities are looking at ways to solve the tenure crisis, urging new means including voluntary retirement or career change. But the authors of *The Great Brain Bolders* say there is only one solution, however harsh: "Tenure itself



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must be stimulated. Professors should be free to operate themselves, they must be free to be free," advised Stephen's Sophomore. "In 20 years, you will have professors who are 65 and others in their 30s. A whole generation of ideas will be missing—and that is bound to put the system of balance."

Because government cutbacks are likely to continue, many universities have begun looking at other ways to raise the money needed to keep their institutions alive. In 1984, tuition fees and endowment income accounted for about 60 per cent of operating expenses. Now they account for only 18 per cent; government funding pays the rest. Recent tuition hikes across the country will give universities more cash, but compared with costs at many U.S. universities—so high as \$20,000 a year at prestigious Ivy League schools including Harvard and Yale—a Canadian university degree is still relatively inexpensive.

The U of M, reeling from cutbacks for more than a decade, has developed innovative ways of saving and raising money. The university has a vigorous energy conservation program to cut costs of heating and lighting the campus. Furthermore, their recent expensive office equipment is coping with desktop and micro-computers, the university boasts in their pamphlet. It also sells a variety of services and products ranging from computer time to agricultural goods. Said U of M president Arnold Skarmark: "I know corporations that are not less efficient than some of the biggest universities." But, increasingly, university administrators have begun looking to the private sector rather than the public sector to raise capital.

For years, many U.S. colleges and universities have had close links with private industry and industry has utilized university laboratories and staff for both pure and applied research. In contrast, many Canadian universities are suspicious of doing industry's bidding with the result that many potentially lucrative spin-offs from university research gather dust on lab shelves. As well, government cutbacks have taken their toll on Canadian research equipment. Some universities have been forced to pass up research opportunities because they do not have the facilities or the staff to undertake them. Said James Jamieson, a chemistry professor at the U of M, whose faculty has decreased by 15 per cent since the early 1970s: "When we are turning technicians for the 1990s we're turning out equipment that means that Canada as a whole is going to have difficulty competing in international markets."

Still, there have been notable success stories. To date, the most promising attempt at linking private industry to

university research is the University of Waterloo, in Waterloo, Ont., where there is a saying that "professors are either the most business-minded academics or the most academic-minded businessmen." The concept began in 1956 when Waterloo College founded a new faculty to teach sciences and instituted "co-operative education" in which students alternated academic terms



Marion how to cope with big professors.

with jobs in the field. Today, the co-operative program has an enrolment of 6,300 with 1,700 part-time co-op employers.

In another innovative program, the University of Waterloo's computer science department has developed 38 computer programs, used by 1,000 industrial, educational and government associations around the world. Waterloo's revenue from the software sales

—more than \$2 million—now exceeds the combined total of the United States' three major high-tech universities. Stanford, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Carnegie Mellon.

Waterloo professors and former students have also formed at least 25 spin-off companies to market hundreds of different products. As well, in the past five years the university has produced software for corporations in return for funding and equipment. In 1982 Waterloo received \$31 million in cash and computers from IBM Canada in return for 40 million in software. And recently, Waterloo reached a similar \$65-million agreement with Digital Equipment of Canada. To charges that Waterloo is too aggressive in pursuit of the corporate dollar, Waterloo president Douglas Wright replied: "We do it with great gusto, but it takes nothing away academically."

Beyond questions of underfunding and overcrowding, Canada's universities also face disquieting evidence that the quality of students has dropped drastically and that too many incoming students are going to university and dragging down the standards. U of M student union president Carol Munson says that because of funding restraints university enrolments should be restricted. Said Munson: "The quality of education is going down further and further." Since the 1970s, teacher-student ratios at U of M have gone up to 1:60 from 1:30. And although some educators think that restoring enrolments leads to a return to elitism in education, others believe that there are simply too many illiterate students at universities. Said U of M's Rosenblatt: "These students are just cluttering up the system."

For seven centuries, the relationship between universities and the society that surrounded them was almost entirely a matter for discussion within the walls of the universities themselves. In the past decade, gradually but inexorably, the institutions have had to become more accountable to governments and taxpayers. Now the public is increasingly demanding information about the costs and direction of university education. In the next five years the discussion will centre on whether universities should be run, chosen by all people, or whether they should try to be centres of excellence for the few rather than the many. But one thing is clear: in the rapidly changing postindustrial world, Canada will need as many highly educated graduates as it can possibly afford. And the question remains: what price should anyone put on the future?

With *Shadows of Moonlight*, Andrew Noydford, a Winnipeg author, explores the history of Myer's Tropicana in Ontario. Peggy Day has in *Myer's and Sherry's* introduced us to the

# "BLAME IT ON THE MOON."

As I remember it was a perfect night for a cruise.  
A full, bright moon cast its light off the water.  
When I reached for my drink our hands touched.  
Oh is that yours?  
Shadows of moonlight played across her face.  
"I've never tasted such an incredibly smooth rum!" she said.  
"What is it?"  
"Myer's Tropicana," I answered.  
"It's very easy to like!"  
There was a moment's silence before she spoke again.  
"I wonder if moonlight has anything to do with it?"

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## MEDIA WATCH

# Leaning in two directions at once

By George Rain

"**W**hy would *The Globe and Mail* waste its lead editorial on Friday morning edition informing its readers that the paper was endorsing Brian Mulroney? That fact has been a prelude all through this campaign with the Globe running for more effective editorials usually on the front page."

—Bryan Mulroney, Liberal campaign director, in a letter to the editor of *The Globe and Mail*, Sept. 3  
"Media politics is often more interesting than party politics, especially during elections. Take, for instance, *The Globe and Mail* of Toronto. Canada's national (English) newspaper is in something of a funny place these days trying to cover the John Turner campaign and salvage it at the same time..." —Dutton Camp, political writer and Conservative party adviser, as published in the *Montreal Gazette*, Aug. 13

It is a proposition that people who write on politics sometimes living forward in their own interest that if both—or, better, all—sides are equally mad at them, they are probably doing something right. The logic of it is not impeccable, because there is no reason why simple bad reporting—factual errors, misinterpretations, salient points omitted—cannot be evenly distributed among any number of players. But that was not the complaint here. It was bias, for the Conservatives against the Liberals, for the Liberals against the Conservatives, and to lean simultaneously in two directions isn't easy.

Even it is probable that word of it will have leaked out somewhere that I have had an association with *The Globe and Mail* for most of the past 40 years, a claim to be stoutly insisted would not hold water. But if that does not constitute grounds for instant disqualification (and if true claims of editorial bias from opposing sides do not automatically cancel one another, rendering the exercise pointless), perhaps we could look at the evidence. To make a manageable sample, I noted a microcassette to Golden region of *The Globe and Mail* for every day in which an editorial appeared in the last seven weeks of the campaign. That yielded 27 notes, going back to July 16. I considered as dispassionate as possible, given the delicate already acknowledged, all editorials and all page 1 stories (Liberty having com-

plained of shouted stories and pictures "usually on [the] front page").

*The Globe and Mail* did not carry what I called an endorsement editorial until the Friday before voting day. Up to then, editorials had been so evenhanded as to leave one reader—this one—wondering which way the paper would jump. The positions of all parties on jobs for youth were scanned to an odd's married subways or day-care wage. Two editorials on foreign policy found cause of the leaders sufficiently far-reaching. An editorial headed "Not entirely clear" said that while it might be "too much to expect political leaders to carve all their proposals in stone," Brian Mulroney seems content to write them in the wind. Another editorial, "A man with politics," offered qualified praise to Ed Broadbent. Another, "Cutting the deficit," said that "what Mr. Mulroney and Mr. Turner have served us so far is... a spoonful of sweet rhetoric." Still another, "Rejecting the future," said that with 80 per cent of Canadians shown by polls to favor a nuclear weapons freeze, "it requires the measure of twenty and courage for a political leader to hold shoulder the idea and put principles above politics," as John Turner at that point was doing. No pronounced bias there, where a newspaper by tradition aims its conclusions, opinions—or biases, if you like.

In the news side, sweeping positive, negative and neutral values by subject matter to front-page stories provided a notably even result. Item-rating was Turner negative, nonrating plus results, Mulroney positive. But these were demonstrable happenings, generally deniable. Most stories—perhaps for women promised in women's debate, youth an leaders' job program, Judy Kline may lose the job—were clearly neutral. By that count, Brian Mulroney had eight, John Turner, 10 and 10. Curiously, although Dorey briefly resented a picture of John Turner with a pair of forklifts seemingly gnawing at his head, Turner fared better in pictures overall than did Mulroney. Among others, the Globe printed pictures of him sitting with a woman pilot and with a kid. But it would be hard to prove bias with that.

On page 8 of my editorial files the day after the election, *The Globe and Mail* carried a head, "They ride circus 32 of 32 seats in Atlantic region." Now that's getting dirty.

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SPACE

## The trial of a spaceship

When the winged spaceship Discovery touched down on a desert runway at Edwards Air Force Base near Los Angeles last week in a graceful landing, its inaugural mission, officials at the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) were elated and relieved. Spacemen said the ten-day mission, which after three launch delays had become vital to the reputation of the nation's shuttle program, was a complete success. Discovery's five-man, two-week crew had managed to perform every experiment on its agenda. But even before the ship landed, a special report that two congressional committees had commissioned loudly criticized the shuttle program and recommended that the U.S. military supplement its use of the reusable craft with disposable rockets for launching satellites.

The \$1.3-billion Discovery's most important achievement was the flawless launching of three communications satellites. This demonstrated the capability of a system whose previous failures had seriously damaged the shuttle's credibility. The crew completed a series of tests for orbiting solar power panels, and after six days work payload specialist Charles Walker completed grocerying a top-secret hormone in the shuttle's gravity-free laboratory. But the most dramatic moment of the journey came during "Operation Ice Cube." Discovery's Canadian-built robot arm performed flawlessly when Cmdr. Henry Hartsfield activated the device to knock off a jagged chunk of ice that had blocked a liquid-waste nozzle on the side of the orbiting craft.

But Discovery's success was not enough to continue U.S. Air Force officials to drop their proposal for 18 disposable rockets at a cost of \$2 billion in order to launch satellites independently of the shuttle program. The day before the shuttle touched down, a report requested by staff members of both the House and the Senate appropriations committees—which allocate funds for the U.S. space program—appeared to support the air force proposal. A panel of experts, which the U.S. National Research Council had appointed, reported that the shuttle could not provide as much "flexibility and security" as

launching military satellites as could a system that excluded disposable rockets as well as reusable spacecraft. The report admitted that the shuttle flights "have been remarkably successful." But it criticized the shuttle's low payload capacity, the unexpected length of time between launches because of equipment problems and the great expense of launching military satellites from the



Discovery Crew finding out competition

shuttle. The report added that "a grave failure could shut down the nation's ability to conduct space launches." The panel also discussed NASA hopes that the rockets would be built with shuttle components.

For their part, NASA officials refused to comment on the report. But spokesman William O'Donnell "We feel that there has not been sufficient time to consider it." But clearly, the imminent threat of depriving the shuttle program of military payloads, which cover one-third of its costs, worries the beleaguered space agency. It is a headache that not even the spectacular glide of Discovery against a famous California storm could alleviate.

—ANN PINLAYSON



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**M**anhattan-born and -based model **Stacy Portogues**, 26, hoped to become a sculptor's assistant, but when she discovered the joys of body building in 1981 she began cosplaying herself. Now in training for the November Miss Olympia competition in Montreal, Portogues is contrasting between New York and Toronto whose professional body builder **Mohammed Mahkawy** and fitness coach **Ken Wheeler** are helping her work toward a symmetry that is Olympic enough to win the opinion of the eight judges. "The exercise routines are grueling," says Portogues, but "it is just like sculpting your body." The competitive criteria of the Montreal-based International Federation of Bodybuilders demand a combination of beauty and biceps that denote, according to the organization, "the perfect, well-proportioned body devoid of fat and adorned only by a bikini that displays taste as well as muscle." The Miss Olympia contest is an offshoot of the Mr. Olympia competitions but with a feminine touch. "We don't intimidate each other," said Portogues, "we inspire each other."



Portogues: competitive criteria demand a combination of beauty and biceps

**I**n her first novel, *The Biggest Modern Women of the World*, Canadian writer **Susan Swan**, 39, created a fictional account of 19th-century Nova Scotia giant (seven feet, no inches) **Anna Swan** which is now at the centre of a dispute between the author and her subject's descendants. Since the novel's publication last November, Swan has received four letters from elders of the giant Swan's family suggesting that the book be burned because, in their view,

*Biggest Modern Women* is an inaccurate biography of their ancestor. The family particularly objects to sexual scenes in the book which include the delivering of Anna with an axle wedged by a dwarf. Last month at a public reading of her book in Port Hawkesbury, N.S., 100-foot, two-inch Swan, who can trace her ancestry back to the same Scotswoman origins as the giant—but not through the same tree—met two younger Swans who claimed that all four generations of Nova Scotia Swans "venerate the book" and were "outraged" by it. Author Swan claims she mythologized the giant in her novel and is disappointed that her heroines' family cannot "recognize the difference between literature and biography." The Swans are conciliatory. "We were very polite to each other," said the author, "but I think we basically would like to tell each other to shove it."

**W**hile 26 Canadian artists are being getting into for Vancouver's Arts Umbrella 130 other arts personalities are contributing to *The Great Ontario Quik* for the province's biennial celebration. **William Ronald**, **Harold Town**, **Mary Pratt**, **Jack Shadbolt** and **Jayce Wieland** are among the art stars whose art will be exhibited at a four-day

ing "Splash" next month for Umbrella, a children's visual and performing arts center in Ontario. 11 self-makers begin their first 15 and plan to present their 21-foot square quilt to present **William Swales** after a Thanksgiving weekend unveiling. The bits and pieces of personal belongings in the quilt include underwear from poet **Irving Layton** and a black lace bra with rhinestones from writer **Susan Woodson**. The quilt contributors had an easier task than the kite painters. Ronald's production was five feet high and a Ronald painting that rose usually covers \$15,000. "I did it anyway," he said, "because a star belongs in the sky."

**N**ashville news reporter **Susan Thomas** says that she spent three months "begging" country music stars to talk to her about their drug addictions. After such performers as **Johnny Cash**, **George Jones** and **Johnny Rodriguez** agreed to talk, Thomas began to write an eight-to-18-part series for Nashville's daily morning newspaper, *The Tennessean*. It will contain a wave of confessions. **Waylon Jennings** admits that during his 20-year addiction to drugs he required people on his staff to keep him supplied with cocaine, and Cash claims he went "doctor-shopping" for heartburn and amphetamine prescriptions. Thomas says that industry insiders, even the public, have long been aware of the situation but few were willing to talk about it in specific terms. Some still are not willing. While acknowledging continued use of drugs, **Johnny Paycheck** maintained that it is "nobody's damned business."

—GUYTON H. BERRY LAFRANCE



Swan: four generations of Swans dislike her book

The world is moving to Malibu.



## A last-minute reprieve

When the spectators at Vancouver's Pacific Coliseum yawned at the performance of Team Canada last week, it was eerily reminiscent of a night 13 years ago in the same arena. The 1973 edition of Canada's best professional hockey players lost them to the Soviet Union. But last week Wayne Gretzky and teammates, billed as the fastest-skating and highest-scoring Canadian team ever assembled, were soundly beaten not by the world-champion Soviets, but by lightly regarded Team Sweden. The last-minute play by the Canadians in the pre-nation tournament meant that the National Hockey League superstars had to beat Czechoslovakia Saturday night or the Soviets on Monday in order to reach the Cup semifinals. Said Gretzky: "Twelve years ago, Phil Esposito said to the country 'Hey, look here! We're down but we're not out.'"

The 1973 Team Canada failed to win the series with the Soviets and capture the hearts of the nation. "Team Canada '91 managed to reach the semifinals by soundly defeating the Czechs 7-2



Canada's Doug Wilson: a showstopper

in a similarly unexpected turn-around. Gretzky, who announced the win, each season but looked ordinary against the fast Swedes and Americans, remembered what Canadian hockey fans were witnessing early last week: "We lack discipline, we miss passes and we've got power plays that don't even get shots on net." And the tired excuse that the win, pass cannot become a team during a brief training camp and a few exhibition games was refuted by the inspired play of the hurriedly assembled Swedes and Americans.

The first Swedish players to display their skating and puck handling skills in international competition were quickly nicknamed "Clackson Swedes" by the Canadian pros because they showed little appetite for hitting and fighting. But after last Thursday's tough 4-2 win over Canada, Mats Nilsson, who plays for the Montreal Canadiens, said: "We had the edge where Canadian teams usually dominate—along the boards and especially in the corners." Indeed, prior to leaving Canada, Team Sweden had narrowly lost to the Soviets after losing to the United States.

The Americans have also been treated disdainfully by their northern neighbors. "To beat the Canadians would be something special because we're looked upon as second-class citizens," said U.S.

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guitarist Tom Barman before he and his teammates left Canada last in Montreal. After the game Barman said, "To be totally honest, I still don't think they have any respect for us." But in front of 22,000 fans chanting "usa, usa" in Buffalo, N.Y., Team USA ignored the respect of the rest of the hockey world by beating Czechoslovakia 5-2. The Buffalo crowd and the excitement over the American team in the United States underlined the tournament's problems. Only 2,902 watched the West Germans and Czechs in London. (In Calgary, only 5,708 fans paid up to \$27.50—the

top ticket price—to see the Swedes and Soviets and only 7,838 attended the Soviet-Czechoslovak game in Montreal.) Until the Americans stage a tournament, the attraction of the current one is the contest between Canada and the Soviets. For their part, the Soviets did not look too weak. Declared Soviet coach Viktor Tikhonov in reaction to the small crowds at the Soviets' games. "It is always a great pleasure to play before enemy fans." Then he added, "It is always a great pleasure to play before my fans."

—TERRY JONES  
in Edmonton.

## A gallant run against all odds

Overcoming a cold and a month-long injury, Tessa's Carling Blasett, 16, just won, beating the first Canadian ever to reach the semifinals of the U.S. Open tennis championships. Blasett, who contracted mononucleosis in July, used an improved volley and her remarkable pace to win in straight sets over five opponents before meeting the number 2 ranked women's player, Chris Evert Lloyd.

In the quarterfinals Blasett, seeded 14th, defeated third-seeded Hana Mandlikova of Czechoslovakia. After the match Mandlikova tried to discourage Blasett's winning spirit. "She wins, she loses, she doesn't have to worry—her father has millions." But John Blasett—the majority owner of the Tampa Bay Rowdies football team



Blasett: first Canadian in semifinals

—disagreed. "Nobody cares more about winning than Carling does," he declared. But her desire to win did not help Blasett in Friday's semifinal against no-time U.S. Open champion Lloyd, who was easily, 6-2, 6-2. The first time the two played, in 1983 in Amelia Island, Fla., the then-virtually unknown Blasett came within six points of upsetting the heavily favored Lloyd. She later called the match "the turning point in my career." But after losing yet another point in the Open last week, Blasett looked as her father in the audience, shook her head and smiled.

As the road by Lloyd following the match, Blasett laughed repeatedly. But she said that she could take some comfort from knowing that she did not have to face the eventual winner, defending champion Martina Navratilova, the following day.

—PETER GIFFES

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## Canada's brain trust

Critics of the Canadian economy have long complained—often with good cause—about Canada's lack of technological capability. Although Canadian research and development spending has quadrupled over the past decade, the country's total investment of 1.2% per cent of the gross national

product in 1983 was still one of the lowest in the industrialized West, and the technology gap that separates Canada from the rest of the developed Western nations continues to grow. Now, a new agency has taken up the challenge of spawning world-class research in Canada. Significantly, the new Canadian

Institute for Advanced Research (CIAR) receives funding almost entirely from the private sector and is not affiliated with any government or university. Its mandate is simply to create conditions in selected fields at the cutting edge of modern technology. Said Dr. J. Fraser Mustard, president of the CIAR: "Canada faces a great challenge in the face of such rapid technological change in the world. The truth is that if we do not capture some of it, we will lose control over our economic base."

The CIAR launched its first project in July with a staff of six in its Toronto office in downtown Toronto. Mustard, past vice-president of health sciences at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ont., said that the institute will never acquire research facilities of its own. Instead, its function is to link together Canada's best minds and to sponsor their research in fields selected to enhance the country's economic and social progress. The institute had its genesis in a 1976 University of Toronto initiative, in which Mustard served, that recommended its establishment but envisioned against any university affiliation. Committee member John Wilson, chairman of Woods Gordon of Toronto, set up the institute in 1983 and recruited Mustard to direct it in 1985. The institute's first project focuses on artificial intelligence (AI) in computers, and projects are being mapped out in other fields, including health, law and anthropology. Its budget for 1989-90 is \$1.8 million.

The five-year study, which Mustard predicted will cost \$6 million, illustrates the institute's intention to recruit the country's most talented researchers in wide-ranging interdisciplinary studies. It has funded 11 researchers at the University of British Columbia, the University of Toronto and McGill University in Montreal to investigate the scientific problems involved in developing intelligent robots that can sense, think and act independently. All 11 CIAR fellows are recognized leaders in AI research, but with specialties that include neuroscience and psychology as well as computer science. A fundamental aspect of the project is the electronic communication network that will allow the researchers to function as a group.

The fellows have freed the scientists from teaching obligations and in several cases they have made it possible for them to remain in Canada, a fundamental goal of the CIAR. Said John Major, professor of AI, a computer science professor at the University of Toronto and CIAR fellow: "This year I was offered a position by a company in the United States at double my salary. I was not to accept before the CIAR provided me with the research money to stay here." Hector Levesque, 38, is a Canadian scientist who left a job with the Palo Alto Com-

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ent and Instrument Corp. in Palo Alto, Calif., to make a CBLT blowup. Said Levesque, "At the time I left Canada, the only jobs that were available were university teaching positions that would have left me with little time left over for fundamental research." Levesque will be returning to the University of Toronto, where he obtained his PhD, to join the institute's staff.

"Advanced research in Canada has always suffered from too few people scattered across too great a geographical expanse," he said. "But with the sharing of ideas made possible by the CBLT, we will have the critical mass of talent necessary to do world-class research."

The need to recruit top scientists for elite projects that are not dependent on current public grants was stressed. Mustard and his 25-member research council that the CBLT must remain separate from government. Only 30 per cent of the institute's current operating budget is provided by the government, and Mustard is aggressively courting the private sector for more funds. So far, he has achieved his greatest success with Spar Aerospace Ltd., designer of the Canadarm used in the U.S. space shuttle. Spar has provided the CBLT \$700,000 over three years for its research and has loaned it three of its own researchers.

Dr. Stuart Smith, chairman of the Science Council of Canada and government critic of Canada's poor research record, applauded the new institute's policy of independence. Said Smith, "It is long past time for the private sector in this country to support advanced research the way it does in the United States." Lack of government control will enable the CBLT to pursue "freely elected" projects that are outside the mandate of the National Research Council of Canada, according to Smith. He added that its creation is an implicit criticism of Canada's universities, which he said have failed to pursue creative and interdisciplinary studies and to provide the country's best minds with the sufficient research time and freedom. Said Smith, "The CBLT is not going to solve the problem by itself, and it is too early to say whether it is going to be successful. But I'm pretty far out."

With the CBLT's first project barely under way, Mustard also expressed caution in assessing the institute's impact. But, he added, "We believe in what we are doing. And if you believe in something, you have no choice but to do something about it." Ultimately, he said, the success of the CBLT will be the products of its office. Said Mustard, "We are creating the opportunity for industry and government to go ahead and exploit Canadian brainpower. The question is whether or not they will take up that challenge."

—SHONA McKEE

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# A diva goes Gershwin

GERSHWIN SONGS  
With Deborah Foreman  
(MCA/New Music Group)

The diva from *Diva* has scored another triumph. Foreman, who created the memorable role of the opera singer in Jean-Jacques Beineix's hit film, has now

recorded 18 of George Gershwin's elegant songs. She sings them as if he had written them for her. Her voice is husky and mesmerizing, her diction impeccable. Foreman plays almost flawlessly on the cool sophistication of songs like *They All Laughed* and *My Struggle*. In a few songs she is so formal to project the

required solemnity. But then she surges with a particularly verdant tone of voice in a rapturous declaration, as in her moving version of *Strike up the Band*. Gershwin's songs are a reward to savor—in the composer's phrase, "is wonderful."

BRAMMS-SCHÖNBERG PIANO  
QUARTET IN G MINOR  
Conducted by Krzysztof Zmuda  
(New Gram/Leslie Moss Music Group)

Selders has one composer paid more imaginative homage to another than Arnold Schoenberg in his full symphony orchestra of a Brahms chamber work. In its original form, the *Piano Quartet in G Minor* never seems comfortable in its own skin. But Schoenberg's adaptivity is hugely enjoyable, in contrast to his own frequently tangled and unendless compositions. It has everything to commend it except a catchy title—big bold tunes, color, drama and an orchestration that manages to be chunky, brash, lush and grandiose while retaining respect and idiosyncrasy. The Schöenberg Symphony has made the work readily available again, but unfortunately the orchestra turns in a polite and subdued performance. Conductor Sergio Cordero's interpretation is too cautious to capture the work's robust spirit. Still, it is a welcome, if not a revealing, sufficient to introduce ardent explorers to one of music's darkest treasures.

HEINERICHSON SONATAS NOS 3 & 5  
FOR CELLO AND PIANO  
Yo-Yo Ma (cello), Emanuel Ax (piano)  
(New Music/Arts)

The world apparently craves sonatas. At the age of 25 French-born celloist Yo-Yo Ma has already claimed the title of preeminent sonata player of the 20th in his latest recording of Beethoven's Sonatas Nos. 3 and 5, in his display of mastery of a high caliber. He is technically superb and has a particularly delicious singing tone. And his partner, Emanuel Ax, complements him with some delightful silvery piano playing. But there are flaws. Ma tends to jerk at the emotions, and both players vary the tempo too much, occasionally falling into the trap of thinking that playing more slowly is playing more profoundly. For all the energy expended, the result is cool and conversational rather than soul-searching. Ma and Ax give a presentable account of Sonata No. 3, the sensitive celloist, but are inconsistent with Sonata No. 5, in which Beethoven is moving toward the disquieting but intensely spiritual pronouncement of his later years. Ma's is a respectable recording, but should not be taken for a last drink. —JAMES PRAIRIE

## BOOKS



Non Ripet: a pseudonym, blend of secret sources and a James Bond sports car

## Duel for a golden hoard

LAST MESSAGE TO BERLIN  
By Philippe van Rykel  
(Knopf, 330 pages, \$19.95)

Last Message to Berlin is an exciting book, an intricately plotted puzzle, a gripping thriller. It features two good men fighting for their countries. It contains love and sex and gourmet houses. The fifth novel from the highly successful Montreal-born Philippe van Rykel (page 68), Berlin will almost certainly follow in the narrative path of his earlier works.

The story is set in the early days of the Second World War, with two modern-day knights locked in mortal combat. Jonathan Bayler Cabot, the American, is the top counterespionage operative in the newly created Official Strategic Service (OSS) bureau. Cabot is smart, tough and has a strong aversion to violence against the Germans, who drove his fiancée to suicide. In fact, the man most directly responsible for her death is Erik Guderman, the novel's other, German hero. Guderman, orphaned as a boy, is the adopted child of the Iron Guard, Helms Guderman. Educated at Oxford and Harvard, the young man has become an international economic warlord. "In the great economic battles of Berlin, Paris, London and New York," van Rykel writes, "Erik Guderman's capital, both physical and moral, was without limit."

The plot that joins these worthy adversaries is a delicious one. Britain has

to get its supply of gold to the United States to finance the armaments that the Americans have offered to sell. But Hitler, too, wants the gold. Then Allied intelligence discovers "a spy—a deep penetration agent—somewhere in the heart of Grosvenor Square." Cabot arrives in London to eliminate the mole and smooth the way for a new transport of the gold. The seven of spies that he reveals are the very people reporting to Guderman. Meanwhile, Guderman has also gone to London to abort the transport mission. The race is on.

Part of the appeal of most spy thrillers is their fascination with gadgetry, fast cars and sophisticated weapons. As well, they give the reader the illusion that he is going to insider information. In those respects, van Rykel has mastered the formula. He is thoroughly familiar with every bullet his characters use, and his explanations of bullet trajectories are almost diagrammatic.

But Last Message to Berlin reveals that van Rykel has trouble with dialogue and that his understanding of women rarely extends beyond what meets the eye. As well, a somewhat happy ending, badly beaten the book, although the author of the excellent and momentous he has to satisfy generated. Still, he delivers an exciting and intricate plot. If van Rykel learns to look more closely at human nature, his next efforts may produce the book that has reading public is hoping for.

—STEPHEN SANDOR LOFFY

# 8:AM



# 11:PM



# 1:AM



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## A writer comes in from the cold

In 1976 a mysterious figure writing under a pseudonym arrived as the Canadian literary scene. He was Philippe van Ryck, whose first book, *The Invisible Soldier*, a thriller about Vatican conspiracy in Nazi escapades after the Second World War—became a best-seller. Van Ryck's publisher, Malcolm Lester, of the Toronto-based Lester & Orpen Dennys, hinted that van Ryck had some experience in international espionage and the Vatican. The unknown young author went on to write three more best sellers: *Blueprint* (1977), *The Trial of Adolf Müller* (1978) and *Somerville* (1982)—a novel that *The New York Times* hailed as "a stunning and often moving experience." Now, among Canadian writers, van Ryck's earnings are second only to those of Arthur Hailey, and in the United States he is in the top few per cent of all writers in terms of income.

The real van Ryck, Oleg Michaelchuk, was born in 1950 in Montreal to parents of Ukrainian descent. At 20, while planning to write "the great Canadian spy novel," he and a friend chose a pen name based on painter Rembrandt van Rijn. A year later, as a law student at McGill University, Michaelchuk alone produced a 15-page outline for *Strimacation* and signed the exotic Dutch name to his manuscript.

As the book climbed the best-seller lists, the money began to pour in: about \$100,000 within a year. It was a handy experience for a young man whose family even now, he says, wants him "to buckle down and get a real job." Assessing the soap-opera style of his fictional subjects, he quickly bought an Aston Martin—James Bond's favorite sports car—plus got accounts at expensive restaurants and took extended vacations in Venice, Malta and London.

With his latest novel, *Last Message* to Berlin, van Ryck (now his legal name) has moved to a much larger publishing firm—Stoddart, a division of General Publishing, where his new publisher, Edward Canon, has convinced him to drop the trappings of sophistication and just be himself. When he has completed a good day of writing, he told Woodson, he listens to *The Beach Boys* or visits Capt's, a Toronto bar popular with the local police. Committed to his craft, he would like one day to attempt a screenplay and a serious historical novel on his favorite era, Stalinist Russia. Clearly, the extraordinary success of Philippe van Ryck will allow the former Oleg Michaelchuk to move in almost any creative direction he chooses.

—SUSANNE SALTZER-LEWY

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## A gunslinger's volatile legacy

**JUST WATCH MR. REMEMBERING**  
**PIERRE TRUDEAU**  
*By Larry Zolf*  
*James Lorimer, 209 pages, \$19.95*

For 15 years Pierre Elliott Trudeau starred in a political drama in which he was the dashing leading man and the swaggering villain at the same time. Out of office Trudeau—like President John F. Kennedy and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill—promised to generate a publishing industry all on his own. The latest entry in *Just Watch Mr. Remembering Pierre Trudeau*, six definitive essays by the veteran broadcaster Larry Zolf. As a newspaper columnist and personal acquaintance of the former prime minister, Zolf is still a critical observer who convincingly maintains that history will best remember the ferociously controversial politician as the ruler of the lone gunslinger, “the single combat warrior.”

While Zolf insists on presenting himself as a folk comedian, his best gifts lie in more analytical directions. When Zolf is serious, he is one of the most credible, nonpartisan political writers in Canada. In his essay “The Politics of My Way,” he ably demonstrates how Tru-



Zolf's erudition mixed with grating style

deau, the academic leaver, transformed the position of prime minister into a non-quantitative office at the expense of the robust and concise. As well, in “The Sexual Combat of the Single Warrior” Zolf bravely confronts a touchy issue: the political impact of the persistent rumors throughout Trudeau's career of his alleged homosexuality, a phenomenon that Zolf characterizes as “harassment.” Throughout *Just Watch Mr. Zolf* displays an enviable grasp of Canadian history, which enables him to compare Trudeau's career with his Liberal predecessors Laurier, St. Laurent, King and Pearson. He finds that “what is unique about Trudeau is that he was Canada's first socialist prime minister.”

Although there is much learning and wisdom in *Just Watch Mr. Zolf* remains a grating stylist. So often the reader must strain to wade out his meaning from an overgrown thicket of bad puns and inept metaphors, including his description of Trudeau in 1972, who “had tossed away his political lion office for a mess of metaphorical deluge.” But ultimately the singular combination of Zolf's erudition and insight with his long-forgotten style reminds the reader of a favorite uncle who dresses in checked suits with baggy pants, has odd manners and sometimes talks funny, but still knows more about life than almost anybody else around. —NORMAN BENNETT

## A sprinter's first marathon

**MY PRESENT AGE**  
*By Guy Vanderhaeghe*  
*(Macmillan of Canada)*  
*222 pages, \$19.95*

Few Canadian writers have enjoyed such a swift ascent from obscurity to national prominence as Guy Vanderhaeghe. Three years ago he was a little-known Saskatoon teacher and researcher who published his work in small literary magazines and anthologies. Then his first story collection, *Man Descending*, appeared. In 1980, winning the unflattering praise of critics and several major Canadian literary figures, including Alice Munro and Jack Hodgins, and also the Governor General's Award for fiction. Suddenly, the gifted 30-year-old second novelist to win a place as one of the country's best practitioners of short fiction.

The news that Vanderhaeghe's second book was a novel has piqued enormous interest in its publication. Literary enthusiasts share the voracious expectations of horse-racing fans: they want to know if their favorite has the stamina to go the distance. Unfortunately, *My Present Age* leaves that question unanswered. An energetic, superbly organized book, it contains some memorably



Vanderhaeghe, outrageous moments

outrageous moments. But much of the novel is only passably competent, populated with stock characters whose family relationships in the tedious plots of 19 vignettes is all too obvious.

Readers of Vanderhaeghe will recognize Age's narrator here from the last two stories in *Man Descending*. In those earlier tales the overweight, wisecracking social dropout, Ed, was breaking up with his beautiful wife, Victoria. In Age the rift is complete. Ed is held up in a dingy apartment in some unnamed city on the Canadian prairie. Unhappy, unhealthy and chronically depressed, he is in a state of hyperbolic resentment at the world. The favorite object of his spleen is Tom Collins, the porcine host of a radio phone-in show. Ed can't help hating Tom because McMurry, the almost deaf old man in the room below, listens to him daily with the volume turned up.

Vanderhaeghe skillfully turns Ed's predicament into wicked satire. One day Ed, miserably spouting up his breakfast cereal, hears McMurry complaining to Collins over the radio about the long, overpriced hot upstairs. Ed is kidnapped as he hears McMurry make his central character in a morality tale about the life of society. The result is the individual by the self-appointed guardians of so-called public taste has rarely seemed as funny or so

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clear fiction goes on to extrapolate McMurtry's complaints about Ed's selfishness into a hilariously paranoid tirade against the government. "I'd be the last to exploit this so-called government of ours," the text declares. "They put child molesters in fancy hospitals and feed murderers steak in jail. How can you see the crime of steak feeding? I don't get it. Is half the steak per average murderer dose. My wife's got me on bread and water."

My Present Age complements such satire with the occasional egotistical gem. Ed recently expounds the shallowness, driven quality of much of modern life in his description of Victoria's lawyer, Benny. "Benny believes in data and sensation. He believes that his personality is a result of not having enough information, or his job the result of too few virtues. Hence his belief in one more feature-length article in *Time* or one more blarney." In such a world it is no wonder Ed has suffered a nervous breakdown. Some of the best writing in *Age* recalls Ed's dreary trip to Toronto, where Victoria tries to cure him of depression by exposing him to arguments and concerts. With touching gaudiness and irony, Vanderhaeghe shows him cringing in his hotel room, able to cope with only with the aid, exploited figures of blue movies on TV.

In most of the book Ed is much less endearing than in his Toronto sojourns. Indeed, his common intelligence in the principal trouble with *Age*. The stories in *Most Dreaming* were remarkable for their objective realism and understatement; they let the readers draw their own conclusions. But Ed's swaggering, bullying narrative style escapes the novel. His dominance would be acceptable if Ed were consistently witty. But too often, reading *Age* resembles being trapped in a stalled elevator with a talkative boor. For all his railing against society's banality, Ed shows a remarkable propensity for effishness.

Ed's greatest shortcoming is his portrayal of the people around him. His tale turns every character in the book into a grotesque exaggeration. Such a transformation should be the very essence of comedy, especially when a novel is written in the first person. But Ed's vision tends to produce stereotypes: the nervous father-in-law who returns to his pigsties in the basement, the slick young lawyer who has everything but heart, the jargon-spouting academics. Vanderhaeghe offers many familiar portraits without adding anything new to them. Surrounded by so many puppets, Ed himself seems less than real. His pain less than convincing. My Present Age is not the novel for which Vanderhaeghe's fans were hoping. Still, it strikes enough sparks to keep their hopes alive.

—JOHN BROWNE

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## A distant fictional mirror

THE SPANISH DOCTOR  
By Matt Cohen  
(McClintock and Rowatt,  
\$24 paper, \$19.95)

In recent years Canadian novelists have begun to describe places and times much different from their own. Writers as diverse as Marley Callaghan, Pauline Gedge, Timothy Findley and Leon Rooke have turned their attention away from the fables of present-

day Canada and have become absorbed in the hardships and joys of the imagined past. With *The Spanish Doctor*, Matt Cohen joins the adventurers. Cohen is best-known for his hit-or-miss series of books about life in rural Ontario, but his new novel immerses us in the destiny of Jews in medieval Europe.

Cohen's hero is one of the strongest characters he has ever created—Dr. Avram Halevi, a brilliant surgeon con-

science. As a young man in Toledo, Spain, in 1391, Halevi makes his reputation by performing a risky cesarean operation on the wife of Juan Velasquez, a Christian merchant who is the richest man in the city. Impressed by Halevi's skill and intrigued by his personality, Velasquez becomes his protector in the face of a growing movement to persecute the nation's Jews. In spite of Halevi's marriage to a Christian woman, Jeanna-Marie Pegre, he is still subject to anti-Semitic wrath; he becomes the archetypal wandering Jew, moving from Spain to France, Italy, Ravenna and finally Kiev, on the distant Ukrainian coast.

His nemesis is a prince of the church, Cardinal Rodrigo Velasquez, the cruel and bloated brother of Halevi's patron. While Halevi represents the forces of tolerance and understanding, the cardinal exemplifies the bigotry and exclusiveness of a middle age. Many works emphasize the role of the church as a protector of civilization, a guardian of order and an inspiration to art; in *The Spanish Doctor* the church is a corrupt, vocal institution whose servants narrowly know the meaning of charity and love.

Cohen has tried to situate his story in a believable context. The background of his plot is the prolonged schism in the papacy between Avignon and Rome, that split combined with the Black Death caused many Europeans to fear that the end of the world was imminent. Still, he takes a large historical liberty in giving Halevi the attitudes and perceptions of a modern scientist. While the last historical fiction drops the reader headlong into another time, *The Spanish Doctor* gives a somewhat distorted picture of the Middle Ages. Its finest moments are those in which Cohen's own feelings assert the greatest pressure on his writing—tendently his hopes, plaintive descriptions of the doomed Jews of Spain.

Although it contains some terse, impressive scenes and has a sweeping narrative, *The Spanish Doctor* often goes awry. Cohen's prose suffers from an unfortunate tendency to become limp and lazy. "Avram was suddenly crowded in a rush of sound: a million leaves fluttering in the breeze, the touch and twitterings of a thousand birds...." The repetition of such passages suggests that although the author has fully imagined the behavior of his central characters, he remains uncertain about details of setting and period. It is difficult to say whether Cohen saved *The Spanish Doctor* as a literary subterfuge or, at the mass market, which has so far eluded him: the book includes some extensive descriptions of sex and violence which are not necessary to the plot. Ultimately, Cohen's audacity deserves greater praise than his writing.

—MARK ARLEY

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### CITIES

## A whirlwind of charity

In Toronto an urban wasteland blossomed in 1978 into a oasis of ponds, fountains, parks and shrubbery amid more than 55 huge granite boulders. In Drumheller, Alta., 200 shady ash trees, new street lamps and storefront awnings transformed the city's downtown in 1982. And in British Columbia eight new parks in provincial government land are opening to the public. The quiet force behind these projects and 200 others across Canada was the Calgary-based Devonian Group of Charitable Foundations. In a controversial 13-year spending spree the foundation distributed \$71 million across the country, making it the most influential of Canada's 640 tax-free foundations. Now, with only \$4 million left, most of it already committed, its directors have decided to shut down Canada's most aggressive private foundation.

The source of the group's foundation's wealth was the late Eric Harvie. He was known as Canada's richest citizen, with a personal fortune estimated at \$100 million shortly before he died in 1975. In 1968 Harvie set up a family foundation as a vehicle for philanthropy and a tax shelter for his wealth. His original endowment of \$34 million had grown by \$15 million in 1973, when Harvie's son, Donald, took over its administration and increased it, taking his cue from the Devonian formation in the legendary Leduc-Woodward oilfield near Edmonton,

which Eric Harvie's company, Western Minerals Ltd., was instrumental in developing. With Donald Harvie as chairman of the new foundation, its asset base and spending grew dramatically in the 1970s, although it continued to reflect the individualistic character of Donald's reclusive, Ontario-born father. And to ensure that the charity would make a significant impact, Harvie departed from the normal conservative practices of Canadian foundations that looked their funds and gave small grants over many years. Instead, Harvie stipulated that Devonian should disburse its entire fortune in 30 years. In fact, the Devonian foundation has spent the \$71 million in little more than a decade, distributing an average of \$5.5 million a year. Said Donald Harvie, 68: "We felt we had some skills and ideas that might benefit Canadians more than if we had just dropped the money in Ottawa's general revenue fund."

The most imaginative of the foundation's projects was the Devonian's \$7-million Main Street program. It resulted from concerns that the Alberta government had expended almost the same number of young people leaving the province's small towns. Said Donald Harvie: "We gave them the opportunity to improve but we left the challenge of what to do up to them." Altogether, 270 Alberta and eastern British Columbia communities used Devonian funds to

improve the appearance of their major streets. In Drumheller the foundation planted 500 trees and left local merchants to complete the look. Said city treasurer Keith Peers: "It used to be a little shabby, but the improvements have made a substantial difference." In 1983 the Devonian forked \$400,000 to the city of Red Deer, Alta., for parkways through downtown river valleys and a two-acre park.

In all, the foundation spent almost \$38 million in the four western provinces and Ontario for the beautification of towns and cities. Another \$13.5 million went to historic projects, ranging from the establishment of the Duguid Costume Museum in Duguid, Man., near Winnipeg to the \$1.5-million Maritime Museum of the Atlantic in Halifax. The remaining \$11.4 million funded scientific research projects across Canada and the establishment of the University of Alberta's new Centre for Frontier Engineering Research, which designs equipment for oil exploration and is due for completion in 1985. The seven-year-old Devonian Gardens, a glassed-in 15-acre oasis among the skyscrapers of Calgary, was its most visible and, at \$6 million, most expensive project.

The Devonian was also unique among Canadian foundations because Donald Harvie, who worked part-time with a skeleton staff and an advisory board drawn from the upper echelon of Alberta society, initiated 90 per cent of its projects internally. Most other large foundations make themselves to a passive role, assessing project applications from outside groups and assigning funds. Said Harvie: "We did our homework carefully, presented the opportunity or problem, offered a clear solution and given them ways to make it work as support. If the project got bogged down we would pull the plug and walk away."

Donald Harvie wanted the money spent quickly, and the dramatic nature allowed the foundation to spend almost twice as much per year as its nearest competitor throughout its existence. But so far the controversial tactic has not attracted any imitators. In 1983 the \$5-million, Calgary-based Maude Family Foundation considered and rejected a similar legislative plan. And in Toronto the director of the Trillium Foundation, which is financed by lottery revenue and has spent \$30 million over the past 18 months, warned about the perils of emulating Harvie's quick disbursements. Said executive director Shirley Parr: "What would happen when all the foundations are gone? We do not have the huge springs of money that used to come out of family estates. They just are not there any more." Because of that, the end of Devonian signalled the end of the largest of westerners in Calgary.

—STEPHAN LEECH in Calgary



"Peter," I said,  
"How come your hair looks so healthy?"  
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3. Peter: Right. And Tegrin also helps control that itchy scalp that used to annoy me.

Mac: Agreed, it shows Tegrin gets your scalp really clean.



4. Mac: I'm going to give Tegrin Medicated Dandruff Shampoo a try myself.

Peter: You should try the herbal scent. Works just as hard as regular Tegrin to get your hair and scalp really clean.



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## EDUCATION

# The song of the South



Perkins, Wilson: a noble dream vs. the reality of poverty and racism

When a Mississippi farmer tells a joke, it often takes him 15 minutes. And he seldom expects a laugh at the punch line, just a smile. Along with other aspects of southern U.S. culture, southern humor is relaxed and rambling. Southern chickens do not lift their wings; they "tell stories funny." There is a subtle but vital difference, and people farther afield will be able to explore it. In 1984, when the University of North Carolina Press publishes the *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, the product of the work of 600 scholars who are finishing four years' research for the center for the study of southern culture at the University of Mississippi at Oxford, the 1,000-page encyclopedia will examine various aspects of southern life—from humor through racism, to religion and core values. Said William Perkins, co-editor and director of the culture center: "The South historically has been the United States' most intense regional experience. There is a real need to chart the landscape of southern culture."

The encyclopedia will present southern minutiae, including essays on the heroes of rock 'n' roll and jazz—both southern creations—as well as more serious investigations of such subjects as stereotypes and segregation laws. And, according to co-editor Charles Wilson, the way southerners see themselves will be an important ingredient in the book. Added Wilson: "Mythology has played a very important role here. The way the old South perceived people that they were virtuous and noble. They

found in the myth of romance, moonlight and magnolias while the reality was racism, poverty and illiteracy."

For his part, John Shelton Reed, a professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, is writing an essay for the new encyclopedia. He asserted that part of the distinctiveness of southern culture is a result of the fact that southerners spend far more time talking than other North Americans. He added that conservatism, a function partly of the climate and partly of ample poverty, gave rise to a rich storytelling tradition, and a complex code of manners and pride. Said Reed: "If someone is invading in the South, they mean to be insulting. It does not happen by accident." The talking also leads to arguments and a snarlier rate higher than that of the North.

A \$300,000 grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities (U.S.A.) and \$80,000 in private donations funded the encyclopedia, which will retail for about \$40. The project reflects widespread growth in regional studies throughout the United States. The University of Massachusetts at Amherst is planning an encyclopedia of New England culture, and the University of Michigan and the University of Kentucky have both opened centers for the study of their local cultures. Said Perkins: "Scholars throughout the country are looking for a deeper understanding of American culture. We are much more sophisticated people than we think."

—WILLIAM LOWMYER  
in Washington



Subaltern: witness to cold-blooded murder and scenes of painful search

## FILMS

# A soft-focus adolescence

## THE RAY BOY

Directed by Daniel Petrie

The *Ray Boy* is one of those films about growing up that could easily bear the subtitle *A Sentimental Film*. Set in 1967 in Oliver, Minn., a small New Scotia mining town, *The Ray Boy* evokes the slightly surreal quality that so often clings to dreams set in another time. Colors seem brighter, emotions simpler, people warmer of heart. Even tragedies—*The Ray Boy* contains two murders—are somehow less threatening. Undoubtedly, *The Ray Boy's* dreamlike quality, partly partly of its time-disseminated nature. Director Daniel Petrie (*Four Seasons*, *The Bread*) grew up in Nova Scotia and has set out to capture certain incidents of his youth. By spreading the warm tones of his nostalgia over his creation, he has produced a film of great charm, despite its dearth of both grit and ambiguity.

The hero of *The Ray Boy* is 16-year-old Donald Campbell, played by Kiefer Sutherland, son of actor Donald Sutherland. In his first major film role Sutherland is warmly convincing as the rather ordinary, gently wise of a future descendant of left drinks (Peter Onorati) and his Norwegian wife (Liv Ullmann). A dreary, pensive boy, Donald spends most of his time eking high marks in school and doling out the pros his mother has asked to supplement the family's income. He is not the type to go looking for adventure. Still, the school nurse, Mary McNeil (Judith Light), notices

him. Then a lonely homosexual prent, Fisher Chausson (Nicholas Campbell), makes advances. Finally Donald becomes the sole witness when a local police sergeant, Tom Gidwell (Alan Scott), cold-bloodedly slaughters an elderly Jewish couple.

The murders place Donald in a peculiarly sticky position because he is in love with the latter's blue-eyed daughter, Susan (Leah Passent, daughter of actor Gordon Pinsent). Unfortunately, Petrie prefers to evoke his rambling childhood than to explore Donald's moral and psychological dilemma. The script gives Sutherland few opportunities to convey the sort of his knowledge of the crime. But in one galvanizing moment, the serene, sanguine of Donald, asks him to interview at the police station. There the other pretenses to die off a gun accidentally and nearly kills the terrified boy.

The *Ray Boy* shimmers in many other fine scenes. Don't give Donald's father a serene, well-maintained fragility that endures even a mysterious aura of suspense the viewer keeps expecting him to have a heart attack. And Ullmann produces new truth in her own familiar role of the perpetually anguished wife and mother. Yet the very warmth that these parts actors works to limit their effectiveness. *The Ray Boy* is often a touching film. But by being too loving toward its subject, too careful of its privacy, it leaves the viewer the fall slack and power of the life that answers these.

—JOHN BRIMBOST

# The antidote to modern love

FIRST NAME: CARMEN  
Directed by Jean-Luc Godard

It has latest film Jean-Luc Godard plays a washed-up French filmmaker who lives in a hospital, listens to bits of music on a ghetto blaster and sees things like, "The kids today are so sad." Excited to have the last laugh—even when the joke is on him—Godard has written himself into the plot of his hilarious remake of *Carmen*, the film opera based on the 1935 French novel by Prosper Mérimée. The message of Godard's character is to have the former revolutionary, the director of *Breathless* and *Pierrot le Fou*, has become the harmless old eccentric "Uncle Jean." Godard the older radical has reinvented himself as a comic figure, a feel-peddling the classics in an age of rock video.

The story is about doomed love, a botched bank robbery and a phony film production. When Carmen, Uncle-Jean's beautiful young niece, tries to persuade him to help with a film she and her friends want to make, he finds her as hard to resist as her lover. In *Carmen's* film turns out to be just a cover for a heist, during which a security guard falls in love with her. But Godard's film is an antidote to the story of the Mérimée original. The boyfriend gambles daily upon Marcelline Devereux's bland face, bare-breasted Carmen and says, "That's quite a chest." Godard's young heroes do not make love or act—they put on a show and "sell" the goods.

It is interesting how Godard imports such energy, wit and even optimism in the midst of so much despair. The classic plot of *Carmen* suggests enough sex, music and word images to satiate an audience fed on rock, but also gives those image fans and meaning—old-fashioned luxuries that art can still perform. Everything in the film is a quote or a potential cliché, but Godard makes the viewer see and hear it anew.

The movie's most amusing scenes show a string quartet practicing Beethoven and images of the ocean washing up shore. The musicians work at their music with detachment and devotion, and the ocean, through Godard's eyes, is never boring. The music turns a approach and counterpoint to the canonicity of his modern lovers. Godard answers his growing up video with his own contemplative faith in art. As long as the ocean rolls in at dusk, and musicians are compelled to recreate music, Godard says, there is against all modern evidence, hope.

—MAURE JACKSON

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Evans, Arley, Casser compromised, twisting on the horns of a terrible dilemma

## Murderous rage in the ranks

A SOLDIER'S STORY  
Directed by Norman Jewison

When Norman Jewison took Charles Fuller's Pulitzer Prize-winning drama, *A Soldier's Story*, to New York three years ago, the performance he created here that he decided to make a film based on Fuller's tale of murder on a Second World War army base in Louisiana. *A Soldier's Story*, which Fuller scripted, combines all the hypodermic characterization of the original play with a stately evocation of the American South in the segregation era. And although its momentum occasionally sags, it undoubtedly belongs with *The Crucible* and *In the Heat of the Night* as one of Jewison's most outstanding films.

The film focuses on a young black officer, Capt. Richard Davenport (Howard K. Beal), Jr., who arrives in 1944 to investigate a murder at Fort Sted. An all-black army training camp outside the fictional town of Tyula. The victim is Sgt. Vernon Waters (Adolph Caesar), a cantankerous bully who is highly unpopular with his platoon. While many of the soldiers blame the local Ku Klux Klan for the killing, Davenport slowly narrows his suspicion to the base itself. As his interviews, Waters's men, he plunges deep into a maelstrom of lies and tensions which shows how a segregated society forces its victims to compromise their own beliefs. *A Soldier's Story* is only indirectly about how whites have exploited blacks, it is man-

ly about how blacks have turned against themselves in their rage at being treated as second-class citizens.

Fuller has distilled the essence of that tragedy in the murdered Sgt. Waters, revealing his painful inner life in a long series of flashbacks. At first, Waters appears to be simply a maladjusted thug who overdisciplines his men in a transparent attempt to please his white superiors. But gradually Fuller reveals him as twisting on the horns of a terrible dilemma. He is deeply distressed at the degradation of his fellow blacks and he believes that the only way out of their lot is to become more white than the whites. In pursuit of that goal he sets out to destroy the amiable Cpl. Memphis (LeRoy Royce), who, he believes, is a throwback to the old, obnoxious Jim Crow style of Negro.

Waters' stage actor Caesar's evocation of the tortured Waters should win him an Oscar. In a grating, business-like snarl and when his way along a star's edge of moral and racial ambiguity. At times he seems repulsively alien, as when he bores with sneering skill against the ridiculous Pvt. Peterson (Donald Washington). Then, just as the viewer starts to loathe him, he warms back sympathetically in a searing speech about his experiences with race hatred in France during the First World War.

Howard K. Beal Jr. (Katharine) handles the less demanding role of Capt. Davenport with a cool restraint that balances Waters's ranting. As one of the first black officers in the American

army, Davenport represents a kind of hybrid man of whom Waters is incapable of conceiving one who can rise in the world while remaining true to himself. Indeed, Capt. Davenport is so determined not to fall prey to racial prejudice that he carries himself with all the self-conscious stiffness of an officer on parade. But Beal gives him character from arrogance with some endearing comic touches. When a white officer asks him to take off his sun glasses, Davenport refuses. He then, he says with a straight face, "Because they make me look like MaoArthur."

Backing up *Story's* two stars are shiny face actors, some of whom appeared in the play. Robert Townsend is charming as Cpl. Kila, Davenport's adjutant who refers to northern blacks as "faded Yankees." Art Evans ably communicates the confusion of the morally compromised Pte. Willie. Sgt. Waters's funky. And Washington and David Harris give convincing portraits of men driven to extremes of hatred and fear by insurmountable superior.

With such fine acting and an unusually perceptive script, *Story* could hardly fail to be gripping. The film does not entirely escape its literary origins: the flashbacks and long conversational episodes retard *Story's* forward drive and, at times, Jewison seems hesitant to set its underlying passion loose. But it is a fine piece of craft, impressive in its moral mood, disturbing in its analysis of human evil. After a summer of pop and sex it is a welcome respite in as profoundly refreshing as a cold, pure glass of water.

—JOHN BERNARD  
MACLEAN'S BEST SELLER LIST

### Fiction

- 1 *First Among Equals*, Ambler (J)
- 2 *The Day After* (J)
- 3 *The Aquitaine Progression*, Jackson (J)
- 4 ... *And Ladies of the Club*, Besterman (J)
- 5 *Full Circle*, Steele (J)
- 6 *Lincoln*, Vidal (J)
- 7 *Shattered Steel*, Herbert (J)
- 8 *The Wheel of Fortune*, MacIntyre (J)
- 9 *The Fourth Deadly Sin*, Forsyth (J)
- 10 *The Waking Dream*, Aikawa (J)

### Nonfiction

- 1 *In God's Name*, Bailey (J)
- 2 *Venezuela*, Jones (J)
- 3 *East or West*, Meier (J)
- 4 *Sex and Society*, Green (J)
- 5 *The Shanties*, The Shanties Part Times of John B. White, Woodcock (J)
- 6 *The Kennedy's*, Callahan (J)
- 7 *The Long Road Home*, Coleberry (J)
- 8 *The March of Folly*, Tuckman (J)
- 9 *Bloody Victory*, Greenstein and Morley (J)
- 10 *The Walker Novel*, Fraser (J)

(J) *Jupiter last week*

# The Rt. Hon. PM from Whimsy

By Allan Fotheringham

The landscape of the Commons is now littered with the bodies of those men who decided when small boys that they would become Prime Minister of Canada. Brian Mulroney, his schoolyard friends now confess, told them then that he planned to be Prime Minister. Joe Clark made the same vow when he was a teenager. And John Turner's, when he was 10, was pronounced for that end. All three have now achieved their goal, however briefly, and there may be more about La. John Crosbie, who has wanted to run anything he has ever joined, the farm man still dicker, Sirby, despite his position, now smokes Mulroney's apparent robust health. Does Lloyd Axworthy still dream such dreams in his school? The interesting thing now would be to identify some little girl as a schoolyard who has made a private vow with herself, watching Geraldine Ferraro on the tube, to become the first Canadian woman at 24 Sussex Drive (with males in the laundry greasing the daisies and upstairs making the beds).

John Dackshaker always claimed that as a schoolboy he said a paper to Sir Wilfrid Laurier and that event inspired him to aspire to be Prime Minister. His was a difficult route to the top; however, as difficult as the route back down, but Mulroney's was about as unexciting. Those who think him a relative neophyte to politics ignore the fact that anyone who can survive 20 years in the most perilous group in the country (Tories in Quebec) in a province with the most vicious political infighting has to be a most adept survivor. After that mayfield, such minor war games as the Conservative caucus in Ottawa are a playpen.

Set by a fake, Mulroney probably would have been a Liberal, like all the other ambitious young Quebec lawyers. Philosophically, he is to the left of Turner (who is a natural Conservative but hunk into a Liberal family). The hon. from Essex County was sent away to school in the Maritimes and stayed on. After Fotheringham is a columnist for *Southam News*.

far college at St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, N.S. Those were the glory days of Robert Stanfield, and Mulroney came under his influence. By the time he returned to Quebec, for Level law school, he was a committed Tory, something of a drink in his own press, and so he had to dance and twist, dodge and run, avoiding dead-end defeats.

It's why he never ran for the Commons, knowing he could never win a seat, and opted instead for slowly gaining control of the Quebec Tory apparatus so that he could hold sway over the

are that of a conulator. He made his reputation in Quebec as a labor lawyer, a guy who crafted his career by sitting in smoky hotel rooms late into the night, over too many cups of coffee, cutting a deal between staid management and stubborn unions. He already has René Lévesque committed to returning to federal-provincial conferences. It's hard to imagine it of an Irishman, but he likes to have the lumps lying down with the lions.

When the history books are written, they will marvel over the skill and the quiet stealth with which Mulroney stalked Joe Clark between 1975 and 1980 and finally dispatched him, all the while giving the appearance of supporting him. Clark knew what was going on, but the general public never really did. Now Clark will be in the Mulroney government, probably as external affairs minister, and the two still snarl together in public. The man who remains friends with Socialists and Liberals is a stroker and manipulator, a born politician.

In late 1975 Stanfield decided he had had enough, and the Tories scheduled a leadership convention for February,

delegates for national conventions—and leadership races. An Irish Mulroney expert who can talk all day, he knows everyone of any importance in the province. He became a friend and somewhat of a protégé of Daniel Johnson, the late Union Nationale premier. Johnson to this day remains his idea of the perfect politician. He became very close to Robert Clark, who once headed the Quebec CIO and was chairman of the Quebec civil servants' union. He was the man who threatened Mulroney into the public spotlight. When Robert Bourassa was sent into exile and disgraced by the crushing victory of René Lévesque's opposition, it was Mulroney who sent him a warm letter, encouraging him in his despair and predicting that he would rise again. Bourassa is now ready to bring the Liberals back to power by the spring and remains friends with the Tory with whom he will be dealing at 24 Sussex.

For the first time the fractious Tories have a leader whose professional skills

1908. I wrote a column on this page, running over the list of aspiring candidates and giving their credentials. Paul Hellyer was too dull, Jack Horner was too stubborn, Claude Wagner was too stuffy, Joe Clark was too young, etc. If the dumb Tories had any brains, I advised them free of charge, they should choose a young, handsome, bilingual Montreal lawyer by the name of Martin Brian Mulroney, a man who at that moment I had yet to meet. You didn't have to be too bright to figure out that until the party broke into Quebec it would remain forever in the wilderness. I dubbed him the son from Whimsy.

Several weeks later, in Vancouver, I received a telephone call. "It's a Mr. Mulroney from Montreal," the secretary said. "Whimsy here," was the first thing he said, a nickname he still uses for himself. I asked him when he first decided to run. "The second time I had it in your column," he said. It took eight years, but now he's in place. My job, I think I'll move to another country.



"So what's for dinner?"

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